# ARISTIPPUS,

OR,

Mon^sr. *de* BALSAC'S

MASTERPIECE.

BEING

A DISCOURSE

Concerning the

# COURT.

*With an Exact* TABLE *of the principall Matter.*

Engliſhed by *R. W.*

*London*, Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, for *Nat. Eakins* at the Gun, and *Tho. Johnſon*, at the golden Key in *Pauls*-Church Yard, 1659.

MVSEVM
BRITTAN
NICVM

# THE Printer to the Reader.

THe Title alone, and the Authors name who compoſed this Diſcourſe, cannot but be a ſufficient inducement to the reading thereof; and whoſoever reads, cannot but infinitely eſteem it; and had I been perſwaded by ſome very intelligent perſons who had peruſed the Copy, I had uſhered it with no other Preface; Yet having heard them ſay, That this moſt excellent Author never compoſed a Piece more exact, more regular, or more eloquent; And a Gentleman, a Kinſman of his, from whom I had this Copy, who had it alſo from himſelf, aſſuring me that of all the Pieces of his Cabinet he looked upon none

*with more affection, and commonly called his* Master-piece: *Neither did I think I ought to have concealed this knowledge hereof from the Reader, for our mutual benefit. All his Friends and Kindred indeed know that having composed it in the fairest flower of his Youth, he perswaded himself that beyond all his other Pieces, it ought to establish his Reputation; And they all witness that he has published it more then Twenty years since, but onely that he took that time to bring it to the highest perfection it was capable of.*

*There is another Piece formerly mis-printed with his Entertainments, now more fitly joyned to his Aristippus, as treating of the same Subject, which the Reader may be equally glad to see polished and reviewed by the Authors last Touches.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

TH

# THE PREFACE.

IN the year 1618. the former Landgrave of *Heſſen*, Grandfather to him who now is, went by order of his Phyſicians to the *Spaw*-waters; upon his return paſſing the Frontiers of *France*, and hearing that the Duke of *Eſpernon* was in his Government of *Metz*, he had a great deſire to ſee the man whoſe hiſtory he had ſo often heard, whereby he underſtood him to be a man whom Vertue had raiſed, and who could not be caſt down by Fortune; whoſe diſgraces had been more glorious and more ſparkling then his more favorable condition who had the courage to oppoſe a party which was like to have ſubverted the State, who had merited the favors

vors of a King, to whom he was wan
ing in nothing but to have been bor
in a better age.

The Landgrave moved with admirati
on by ſo long and laſting a vertue, judg
ed this illuſtrious old man worthy of hi
curioſity, and did him the honor to viſi
him at *Mentz*; by miſhap the gout ſeiſe
on him the next day after his arrival
which although it uſed to treat him
gently, it being rather indeed a force
repoſe then a true grief, yet was he ob
liged to receive it like a ſick perſon, an
to keep his bed ſo long as it laſted. Thi
Fit retained him longer then he inten
ded, in a place where he could not o
therwiſe have been tired; which gave
us alſo the means the better to conſide
him.

Being a Prince who loved learning
he employed his ſpare hours, and the
intervals of his grief, either in reading
good Books, or converſing with ſuch
learned men who beſt underſtood them.
There was then one with his Highneſs
whom he particularly eſteemed, and

who

who in effect was no ordinary person, whom he usually called HIS ARISTIPPUS, and sometimes his LEARNED WISE-MAN, to explicate that name of *Aristippus*, which he had given him.

He was a Gentleman of an exquisite Judgment and of a consummate Experience of the Catholick Religion, a French man by birth, and originally from Germany, of Fifty five years of age or thereabouts: He had the gift to please, and was learned in the Art of perswading. Besides he knew both the old and the new Court; and having observed in divers Journeys which he had made, the manners and natural inclination of Princes and of their Ministers, there was to be found hoarded up in him a treasure of the things of our time, beside other knowledges, which he had drawn from Antiquity, and aquired by Meditation.

I was so happy as at first sight to contract a friendship with him; he presented me to the Landgrave, and gave a good Character of me to his whole Court,

Court, he gained also his Highness good liking that I should assist at those Entertainments which they had after their repasts. At his coming out of *Germany* they had chosen *Cornelius Tacitus* to be the Companion of their travels, nor were they ill accompanied; he had diverted them at the *Spaw*, and on the way, and when they were arrived at *Metz* they were at the beginning of *Vespasians* Reign. *Aristippus* was Reader, and Interpreter; after having read, he made reflections on the things read sometimes in few words, and with light touches on them, and sometimes making stops and discourses at length, as either the matter required, or as the Landgrave exacted it from him. It was a pleasure to hear a Philosopher discourse of the Court; and if that Sophister who rendred himself ridiculous before *Hannibal*, had not spoken worse concerning War, I cannot fancy that *Hannibal* would ever have scorned him.

Publick Affairs are often foul and full of ordure, whereby with the least touch a man

a man contaminates himself, but the speculation is more honest then the management of them; that's performed with innocency and purity: the Pictures of Dragons and Crocodiles having no venome which offends the sight, may have colours which rejoyce the eyes. And I must confess, the world which in it self so much disgusts me, would in the conversation of *Aristippus* seem to be delightful and full of divertisement.

In this rich and learned conversation, as in a Tower neighboring Heaven, and built on the shore, we securely regarded the agitations and tempests of the world. We were spectators of all the parts which were acted through *Europe*; *Aristippus* formed arguments of those which were yet to be acted, & his acquired as well as natural prudence, which knew all both the past and present, taught us also some new things for the future. He had chain'd me to his tongue from the beginning to the end of his Entertainment, and I heard him with an attention so little diverted, that

not

not the least word of his escaped me; but to make way for what he was to speak the next day, retiring my self into my Chamber, in the evening I wrote down the Discourses of the afternoon, and discharged my self on the paper of *a burthen of Pearls and Diamonds*, as honest Monsieur *de Coeffeteau*, to whom I the next morning used to communicate them, was wont to call them.

At that time I had as much reason to commend the fidelity of my Memory as I have now cause to complain of the treacheries wherewith it now afflicts me. *Seneca* the Father tells us of the wonders of his, in the Preface to his Controversies, I dare not go so far as he, nor will I prefer any thing of mine, which sents of the Mountebank. But its very true that the same year these conversations of *Aristippus* were enjoyed, having heard a Sermon of two hours long, after my return from Church I wrote it entirely out, without indeed subjecting my self scrupulously to the words, neither did I lose the least part

of

of the ſubſtance of the things.

There are witneſſes ſtill alive of what I ſay. I can name ſome of eminent quality, who are full of life. Nor need any man think it ſtrange, that after ſuch an effort of Memory, which was then thought no ſmall matter, I ſhould remember ſeven Diſcourſes of a mean ſize which *Ariſtippus* made in ſeven days one after another. One line of *Veſpatians* Hiſtory ſerved him for a Text to begin, and the Landgraves entreaties obliged him not to leave off in haſte.

To ſpeak of the merit of the Diſcourſes I think it nothing neceſſary; Nor will I alleadge the approbation they have had both on this and on that ſide of the Mountains. It will ſuffice to ſay that they have been read by thoſe who correct Edicts and Ordinances. and that the Cardinal *Richelieu*, having carried them with him into *Italy*, returned them to me at *Paris* as he came from that fatal voyage of *Lyons*; nor was this performed only with very civil words, but with moſt obliging notes;

where-

wherewith he had marked the Margent of the Manuſcript: *This pleaſeth me; Nothing could have been ſaid more prettily. This may be called excellent. I know whom he means*, &c.

Theſe kind of marks which he uſually made on the compoſitions of other men, were well known to thoſe who ſaw him in his privacies, and who are admitted into his Cabinet, during his hours of leiſure and divertiſement. So that his Eminency had ſo much goodneſs as not to take to himſelf any thing thats to be read in theſe ſeven Diſcourſes. He diſtinguiſhed times and places, and did me the favor to conſider, That when *Ariſtippus* ſpoke at *Metz*, himſelf at that time was but Biſhop of *Luçon*, and that Monſieur *Luynes* was not as yet Conſtable of *France*.

BUt it's not a time to relate the adventures of Diſcourſes, ſince they are not yet finiſhed, and that they are yet to make another voyage to the far-

furtheſt parts of the North. Nor ought their Elogy to be drawn from the Teſtimonies rendred them in *France* and *Italy*. They muſt expect the judgement of the QUEEN in *Sweden* to whom I ſend them; Being enlightned to the height ſhe is, ſhe will better know them by their appearance then by the relation of others, and preſuppoſing that ſhe deſires them, it's more fit at firſt to content her curioſity, then to tiré her patience with a long Preface.

Let's not uſe ſo much artifice in preſenting this Preſent of ours, and let's bring *Ariſtippus* to appear before her as ſoon as poſſible: Let's not offend our ſelves with the uſeleſsneſs of Dialogues, which moſt commonly embraſſeth what's neceſſary. It ſpends too much time in Civilities and Complements, in Good Morrows and Good Evenings. I thought it fit therefore to cut off all ſuperfluities, and preſent things pure and ſimple, as I have preſerved them with care amongſt my papers

papers, after having collected them with pleasure from the mouth of *Aristippus*.

But before I proceed, It will not be improper to do even as *Aristippus* would do if he were still in the world, and were himself his own Historian; having begun with a name which will afford felicity to the Book, without delay let's render it those homages which are due unto it.

The vertue of CHRISTINA deserves somewhat extraordinary; but the present time is too poor for such an acknowledgment. We must seek honors for her in old *Rome*, and in the Country of Triumphs; and why should we not in this place renew the antient custom of acclamations, which were the triumphs of every day? These require no pomp, as others do, and their expence may be made even by Poverty it self.

*Let us therefore praise, let us bless*

*bleſs the Daughter of the Great* Guſtavus, *the Great, the Incomperable* Chriſtina, *for the good examples which ſhe gives to ſo wicked an Age, for having made an end of War, and for having made a Peace, for knowing how to reign, and for her not being ignorant of any thing which deſerved to be known. It's* Chriſtina *who hath oppoſed Barbariſm, who returned, who hath retained the Muſes who were flying away. It's ſhe who Sovereignly underſtands the Sciences and the Arts. She ſets a price on the operations of the Mind. As ſhe receives the applauſe of all People, ſhe returns Oracles in all Languages; From whoſe opinions there is no Appeal, not even for Poſterity.*

If this be ſo, and that ſhe approve my Book, either it will be ſure of publick approbation, or it will not ſtand in need

need of it. But we must not do that wrong to the publick to think that it is capable of a contrary thought to that of *CHRISTINA*. The World would never displease a person which doth it that honor and embellisheth it so much, by contradicting a person so sound in judgment, and so well grounded in Opinion.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

# ARISTIPPUS:

## A DISCOURSE

Concerning the

# COURT;

Divided into Seven Parts.

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### *The First Diſcourſe.*

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IT's a ſingular opinion of ſome Philoſophers, *That a Wiſe man ſtands not in need of any body; and whatſoever is ſeparate from him, is to him of no uſe.* Whereby they take away Friendſhip from the number of neceſſary things, placing it ſimply amongſt thoſe which are delightful. Yet others more civil then they, I mean the Philoſophers of *Plato's* family, and thoſe of *Ariſtotle's*, did believe, that without Friendſhip Felicity were imperfect and deficient, Vertue weak and impotent. They ſaid, Friends were the moſt profitable and the

moſt deſireable of all outward goods: They conſidered them *not as the ſports and muſings of a Wiſe man in picture*, but as *the helps and props of a man of this world.*

There is none but God only who can be fully content in himſelf, of whom we ought to ſpeak in ſuch high and magnifick terms. It's he alone, who being rich in his own eſſence, enjoys a moſt happy ſolitude, which abounds in all kind of good: He only who can operate without inſtruments, as he can act without labor: He who draws forth all from within his nature; for as much as things are thence in ſuch a manner produced, that yet they forbear not to continue therein. Men on the contrary can neither live, nor live well; neither be Men, nor be happy without one another: They are linked together by a common neceſſity of Commerce.

It's not ſufficient for every Particular to be but One, unleſs he endeavour ſome way or other to multiply himſelf by the help of others. And to conſider us all in general, it ſeems that we are rather ſo many divided Parts which Society reunites, then ſo many ſeveral entire Bodies.

Thoſe who are offended, demand juſtice; the weak ſtand in need of help; and the afflicted, of conſolation: But all men univerſally want Counſel; it's the great Element of a Civil life; it's hardly leſs neceſſary then fire and water. And thoſe two means

means wherewith Nature hath furniſhed us for action, relate to this end; *REASON* and *SPEECH*, which were principally given us for *COUNSEL*. Beaſts are carried away by the ſwift impetuoſity of their natures, and by the preſence of the firſt object: Men have the conduct of themſelves by Deliberation and by Diſcourſe: Having the gift to ſeek and to chooſe, they may inſtantly paſs from the preſent to the future, and from the firſt to the ſecond, and ſtop there if they ſo find it fit.

Pyrates make uſe of Counſel, nor do the Savages live without it. With far more reaſon is it therefore entertained amongſt Civilized people. But every-where wiſe men muſt borrow it from others, becauſe their own wiſdom is to be ſuſpected to them in things which reſpect themſelves. Man is ſo near himſelf, that he can find no place betwixt both, no free ſpace for to debate the counſel he would give himſelf: He cannot hinder thoſe two Reaſons which deliberate in him, from confounding themſelves in communication; That which propoſeth, being too much mixed with that which concludes.

He who counſels therefore, muſt be another perſon diſtinct from him who is counſell'd. There muſt be a proportionable diſtance betwixt the objects, and thoſe faculties which judge of them: And as the moſt quick-ſighted can never ſee themſelves,

ſo the moſt piercing Iudgments want perſpicuity when it concerns their own intereſts. What natural knowledge ſoever we have, and what light ſoever comes down on us from above, yet ought we not to reject humane means, nor to deſpiſe this advantage of reaſon, and this great illuſtration of the truth which is gained by Conference.

Let us acknowledge the imperfection of Man ſevered from Man, and the prevalencie of Society above Solitude. Since the Friend of God, and the Conductor of his people, although a miraculous cloud march'd before him by day, although a Pillar of fire did the ſame by night, placing themſelves in the place where they were to encamp, did not forbear to take a Guide, to ſerve him in other difficulties which during the journey might occur; ſhould any man after this not ask for a Guide, nor ſeek aſſiſtance? Who is it that can truſt ſo much to the advantages of his birth? Who is it that can ſo negligently ſleep on thoſe favors which he expects from heaven, as to imagine that the aſſiſtance of others is uſeleſs? as to believe that his fortune alone and his onely wiſdom are ſufficient for a good Government and a good Conduct?

Thoſe who are raiſed far above the common condition of men, have raiſed themſelves by ſome degrees. It is not Chance which caſt them above others; nor is it their

their own Vertue which hath done all: They often meet with the ſervices of ſome one perſon, amongſt the wonders of their lives. And it's viſible through the courſe of all Ages, that thoſe Princes who have gotten moſt, are thoſe who have been the beſt ſeconded. Of ſo many Examples, a crowd of which are to be found in Hiſtory, I ſhall only make choice of that on which we yeſterday diſcourſed, and which oblig'd his Highneſs for this day to make me ſpeak.

*Veſpaſian* had lived under the Tyranny of *Nero*, and had ſaved himſelf from his hands by miracle: But he contented not himſelf with his own ſafety, after that Monſter was dead; He took heart and undertook greater matters for the publick good. Obſerving that there were other *Nero's* which threatned the World, and that new Monſters unchain'd themſelves, he hazarded himſelf to preſerve the World, by ſeiſing on the Empire: He embraced the Protection of the people of *Rome*, the glory whereof was almoſt all fallen, either by the ſword, or by poiſon, and the remnant which was left was daily exhauſted to fill Iſlands and Dungeons. He had ſtopped there, at his good will and good intentions; He had ſeen all the laſt Lights of the Senate extinguiſhed, and the Commonwealth periſh before his face, but for the powerful ſollicitations, and the vigorous

purſuits of *Mutius*, who as it were by force plac'd the Crowe on his head, and in deſpight of him made him Emperor.

He at firſt ſtagger'd the mind of *Veſpaſian*, which was then fixed on preſent occurrents, although he approved them not; nor durſt he be the Author of that Change which he deſired. And after having caſt him into an irreſolution, he urged him with ſo many reaſons, and perſwaded him with ſo much eloquence, that he at laſt conſtrain'd him to make an end of the deſign, and to engage himſelf in the Publick cauſe by an open Declaration.

Now it's fit you ſhould know, that *Mutius* was not a man who engaged in a Party with fair words only and good wiſhes; but preſently he fortifies *Veſpaſian* with men and with money; He acquired him Provinces and brought him Legions: He ſpared not his own perſon; when he thought it fit, he laid his life at ſtake, and would needs be the Executor of moſt of thoſe things which he counſelled.

Princes which are to be made, cannot be without ſuch perſons; and Princes already made, have great uſe of them. There never was any One ſo ſtrong, who by his own ſtrength could bear the burthen of the whole Government: Never was there any ſo jealous of his Authority, as to be able to reign alone, and to be indeed *a Monarch*, to take the word in the rigor of its meaning

ing. Neither is it other then a paſtime and invention of the *Platonians*, to flatter Royalty and place it above humane condition, to ſay, *That God endowed Kings with two ſpirits, that they might govern well. Plato* often ſports himſelf after this manner; He philoſophiſeth poetically, and mixeth Fable with his Theologie. This double ſpirit is of his conceſſion: And it were better to explicate it of the Kings ſpirit, and of that of his Counſellor, then to have recourſe to Miracles, which muſt never be made uſe of but in caſe of neceſſity, not even for the honor and for the glory of Kings.

It is certain, they have a burden ſo diſproportionable to the weakneſs of One, that did they not truſt to the ſupport of many, they would from the very firſt ſtep which they took catch but a moſt certain fall. Did they not call their friends to their ſuccor, and did they not divide the Globe of the Earth, they would ſoon be puniſhed for the temerity of their Ambition, and ſink under the weight of their own Fortune. That multitude of Cares which from all parts aſſaults them, would not afford them a free reſpiration; The crowd of Affairs would ſtifle them at the very firſt Audience they gave.

There are ſeveral degrees of Servants, which all have a place in the Adminiſtratiou of a State. There are Spirits of a mean capacity, which untangle, which prepare

and diſpoſe affairs: Theſe are fit to begin the work; they make way, and take away the difficulties which embroil things. Theſe Spirits are employed by the Prince for every day, and he diſchargeth himſelf on them only of the groſſer functions of his Royalty.

There are other Spirits of a higher elevation, which he may truſt in more important employments, and afford a more noble ſhare in his deſigns. Theſe govern under him and with him; nor are they evil Pilots in the ſweet ſeaſons, nor on thoſe ſeas which ſuffer but little agitation.

But how happy is that Prince, and how is he lov'd by Heaven, if in his time he meets with ſpirits of the firſt rank, ſouls equal with Intelligences in light, in force, in ſublimeneſs! Men whom God creates expreſly, and whom he extraordinarily ſends to prevent or force the evils of their Ages, to divert or to calm the ſtorms of their Countries!

They are the Tutelar Angels of Kingdoms, and the Familiar ſpirits of Kings: They are the Seconds to the *Alexanders* and to the *Cæſars*; They eaſe the Prince in all his toils; They with him partake ſaving Diſquiets, without which there would be no Tranquility in the World. If in the States wherein we live there are ſuch perſons, let us bleſs their Watchings, which are ſo neceſſary to the Publick Repoſe, under whoſe protection we ſleep ſecurely and at eaſe.

eaſe. Theſe excellent Watches, are they not the cauſe (my Lord) for which the Grecian Poets gave the Night the name of *Wiſe* and *Counſellor?* For ſo I fancie it; and the Grammarians do ſomtimes give the Poets further-fetch'd explications.

The Poets, Your Highneſs knows it better then I, were the firſt antient Preceptors of Humane kind; they taught them the firſt Principles of Policie and of Morality. Here then, as elſwhere, they have diſcovered and pointed out the Truth unto us. The Philoſophers have ſince diſplaid it, and brought it to its full light. Having acknowledged this neceſſity of Society, and the defects which accompany Solitude; beſides their *Jupiter the Counſellor*, and their *Minerva the Counſellor*, beſides the Gods and Demons who alwayes went in company of their Hero's, they have yet beſides that given them Men to aſſiſt them in their enterpriſes, or other Hero's to undertake and act with them. Whilſt *Hercules* cuts off the heads of the *Hydra*, *Iolas* applies fire to it, to hinder them from ſpringing up again. *Diomedes* doth nothing without *Vlyſſes*. *Agamemnon's* actions ariſe from the counſels of *Neſtor*: And this Prince being to make a wiſh which might comprehend all others, deſires neither more powerful forces then his own, nor that wealth he had not, nor the deſtruction of the Empire of *Aſia*, nor the greatening of that of *Greece*,

*but only Ten men which were like unto Neſtor.* *Agamemnon* ſhewing us thereby, That the fear he was in to loſe *Neſtor*, in reſpect of his extreme age, made him apprehend he ſhould want men to ſubſtitute in his place. And *Homer* makes it appear, That one *Neſtor* may ſometimes be found in an Age; but that ten *Neſtors* are only to be wiſhed.

This wiſh did nothing wrong the memory of *Agamemnon*; *Greece* never reproach'd him for having ſuffered himſelf to be governed by *Neſtor*; Nor was the King of Kings eſteemed for that leſs wiſe, or leſs worthy of the Soveraign authority. On the contrary, it is an Axiom in the Politicks, which paſſeth for the Propoſition of an eternal truth, and is as old as Policie it ſelf; THAT AN UNABLE PRINCE CAN NEITHER BE WELL COUNSELL'D NOR WELL SERV'D.

If to receive Counſel, preſuppoſeth ſome advantage to him who gives it; the inferiority (on the other ſide) of him that receives it, forbears not to have its merit: He in his turn is the Superior; He retakes the firſt place, when he ſets his hand to the work, and when by the execution of deliberated things he changeth Rules into Examples, and fair words into good effects. For although it hath been ſometimes ſaid in *Rome*, That *Lelius was the Poet, and that Scipio was the Actor*; And that it ſhould be true, That he who compoſeth Verſes, acts

more

more nobly then he who recites them; yet is it not therefore true, That that perſon who executeth glorious undertakings, produceth a leſs relevated operation then he who only counſels them. The Counſellor preſerves his advantage but during the beginning of things, but loſeth it in their event; and even in the commencement of them he hath it not entirely: Nor doth he who is counſell'd remain uſeleſs and without motion; during that time the Counſellors action laſts.

Nature ſeems to prove what we ſay, and hath form'd I know not what lineaments in the ſoul of man: where the Intellect, which we call the Patient, which is the ſeat of Learning, although it be enlightned by the light of the Intellect-Agent, yet ſuffers not in that manner, but that it acts alſo of it ſelf. It judgeth of the Knowledge which it hath received; it revolves, it removes, it diſplays, it diſperſeth in it ſelf this Knowledge: After having compared it with others, it from thence recollects conſequences and concluſions. And ſo we may ſay, it works in company; and if it ſuffer, it's with the faireſt kind of paſſion, which neither ſpoils nor corrupts, as that of a Wound or Burn; but finiſheth and perfects, as that of Illumination in the Air, and of the Reception of Images in the Eyes.

Let us ſpeak leſs ſubtilly, and in a more popular phraſe: Let us conclude, that it's neceſſary

neceſſary to have hands, that one may profitably make uſe of tools; and to have Prudence, to uſe as one ought that of another man's. Wiſdom it ſelf is irreſolute and but little aſſured, when ſhe wants approbation, and is reduced to her own teſtimony. A concerted Reaſoning deſpoils us not at all of the firſt apprehenſion we have of the truth of things. And our *Ariſtotle* hereupon tells us, *That Salt doth not at all harm Seafiſh; and that Oil ſeaſons Olives.* A ſtupid and intereſſed Courtier puts affairs in diſorder, and ruines in ſtead of building up. But a wiſe and faithful Miniſter, who equally divides his affection between the King and the State, renders the greateſt ſervices to both of them, and with reaſon according to my opinion may call himſelf *The Temperament of the power of One, and the Common good of the Republick.* But my particular opinion were ſlight, nor would it have force ſufficient to form and conclude this Diſcourſe, did I not confirm it by the acknowledgments of the Publick towards perſons ſo uſeful to the general good of the world, and by thoſe reſplendent proofs of affection and eſteem which Princes themſelves have rendred to the wiſdom and fidelity of their Miniſters.

I omit *Greece*, where they have reigned with their Kings: I forbear *Perſia*, where their Kings rul'd by them, and where they were called *The Kings eyes*; That is to ſay,

as an excellent perſon explicates it, The Kings eyes which are always open and always watching for the Kingdoms ſafety, which at one and the ſame time look forwards, backwards, to the right and to the left.

I ſhall only inſiſt on *Rome*; where the Emperors, to correct that bitterneſs which is to be found in the words of *Servitude* and *Subjection*, have honored ſuch like Servants with the title of *Friends*; They have call'd them *their Companions*; ſometimes, *the Companions of their cares*, *the Companions of their wars and of their victories*. And even thought fit that the People ſhould call them ſo.

They have cauſed Statues to be erected to them near their own; They have made them depoſitories of their ſwords, with permiſſion to uſe them againſt themſelves, if the good of the State required it, and if they rendred themſelves unworthy of the power they had. They have cauſed Money to be coined, whereon was the Image of one of the Generals of their Armies with theſe words about it; *BELLISARIUS* THE GLORY OF THE ROMANS. And there is to this day to be ſeen a Silver-Medal, on the one ſide whereof is repreſented the Figure of *Valentia*, and on the other that of one of his Subjects ſeated in a Conſular chair, holding papers in his right hand,

hand, and a truncheon in his left, with an Eagle perching on it. In the Hiſtory of the *Cæſars* there is alſo to be ſeen that proud Monument conſecrated to the memory of a great Miniſter; TO *MILITHEUS* THE FATHER OF PRINCES, AND TUTOR OF THE REPUBLICK.

The Inſcription is ſingular, and the quality of the Princes Father nothing common, at that time when the ſeat of the Empire had not yet been transferred from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*: For after that, this quality was conferred as a Title of Office; and vulgarly, thoſe who had the principal direction of affairs, were called THE FATHERS OF THE EMPIRE, AND OF THE EMPEROR.

The Hiſtory written ſince *Conſtantine*, ſpeaks nothing elſe but of the Dignity of the *Patriciate*. Poetry it ſelf could not be ſilent; and there are yet ſome jeering Verſes which the Poet *Claudian* made againſt *Eutropius* the Eunuch, Conſul and Patriciate of the Empire. His fall is celebrated in the books of that Age; and S. *John Chryſoſtom* hath made almoſt an entire Homily thereof. Thoſe jeering Verſes particularly touch at the confiſcation of his goods; And this is near upon the ſenſe, if my memory fail me not. *Why doeſt thou weep at the loſs of thy wealth, which will fall into the hands of thy Son? The Emperor will be thy Heir; and it*

ſo

*ſi became thee to be the Emperors Father.* I have recovered my memory, and the French hath reminded me of the Latine.

*Direptas quid plangis opes, quas Natus habebit?*
*Non aliter poteras Principis eſſe Pater.*

Whereupon remembring my ſelf, That the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt had poſſeſt it ſelf of the place of the Roman Eagles, and that then the Emperors were become domeſticks of the Faith, and members of the Church, of ſtrangers and of perſecutors which they were before; I thought they might have borrowed that term from the Holy Writ, and from the diſcourſe of the Patriarch *Joſeph*.

That great Miniſter glorifies himſelf in *Geneſis*; THAT GOD HAD GIVEN HIM FOR A FATHER TO PHARAOH, (although perhaps he was younger than he) THAT HE WAS ESTABLISH'D PRINCE OVER ALL THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND LORD OF ALL THE COUNTRY OF EGYPT. And the ſame ſacred Hiſtory tells us a little before, That *Pharaoh* took off his ring from his finger, and put it on *Joſeph's*; That he cauſed him to ride in a Triumphal chariot; That he commanded by a publick cry, That all the World ſhould fall down before him; That he told him in a full and general Aſſembly,

THOU

THOU ART NOR MORE NOR LESS THEN PHARAOH; NEITHER HAVE I ANY THING MORE THEN THOU HAST, BUT MY NAME AND MY THRONE.

Nothing can be added to ſo illuſtrious a teſtimony of ſo well counſell'd a Princes reſentment: And pray what can be ſaid or imagined beyond it? You ſee that the high-eſt *Idea* which I could poſſibly conceive of the dignity of the Miniſtry, is authoriſed by the moſt antient of all the examples of that nature: It's impoſſible to go further in Hiſtory; and I muſt confeſs (my Lord) I am ſenſible of ſome temptation of vain-glory, for that a great Prophet explains me by the mouth of a great King.

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THE

# THE SECOND DISCOURSE.

THis truth being eſtabliſhed, That Kings cannot reign without Miniſters; it's almoſt as true, That they cannot live without Favorites. Good ſtays not in the place of its ſource; it will run and ſpread it ſelf abroad. And it is but a commenc'd good, unleſs it be increaſed by communication, and unleſs it finiſh by dilating it ſelf. But let us adde ſomething which is more ſtrange, and yet is as certain: It hath been long ſince aſſured us by Reaſon, *That were a man alone in Heaven, and that it were not in his power to participate it with another, he would be weary of his own felicity, and would deſcend from Heaven to Earth.*

Upon which ground I ſay, That the wiſeſt Princes in the world, That the *Auguſtans* and the *Antonines*, if they return'd again, That the *Conſtantines* and *Theodoſiuſſes*, may have legitimate affections, and reaſonably love this man more then that.

LET

*LET YOUR PEOPLE BE YOUR FAVORITE*, was Advice formerly given to a great Prince, but by a Philoſopher ſomwhat too ſevere. To deny Kings the ſweeteſt uſe of their Wills, and to deſpoil them of the moſt humane of the Paſſions, were to be the Tyrant of Kings, and not ſuffer them to be Men: It were to tie them to the greatneſs of their condition, and to nail them to their Thrones. What a ſeverity were it, that we would never have them appear in a ſhape like ours? that they ſhould never diveſt themſelves of that gravity which incommodates them? Is it a crime to have a Confident, in whoſe company a man may after labor ſeek repoſe, and divertiſement after buſineſs?

Vertue is not ſo auſtere, nor ſo ſavage: ſhe deſtroys not Nature, ſhe only corrects its imperfection: ſhe knows how to render Juſtice, but ſhe alſo knows how to do an act of Grace. In Charity ſhe affords a place to whomſoever; the Stranger is received there as a Gueſt, and the *Barbarian* as well as a *Grecian*: But ſhe reſerves Friendſhip for a ſmall number; ſhe eſpouſeth not all ſhe embraceth.

In Heaven, where the Idea's and the firſt forms of things are to be found, are there not beneficent Aſpects and favorable Inclinations rather towards theſe, then thoſe; whence there are born on Earth the Predeſtinate and the Elect? Was there not a

choſen

choſen People which was preferr'd before all other Nations; which was called *The portion and the inheritance of the Lord?* The Lord told them, I WILL BE THY GOD, AND THOU SHALT BE MY PEOPLE. In the family of the Patriarchs, this preference was ever found on one ſide, whilſt all the reſt were excluded? The Cadets carried away the right of Elder brothers; and the Advantage of Nature gave place to the Decrees of God.

And when the Son of God himſelf came into the world, beſides the Seventy two Diſciples who were of his train, and who had devoted themſelves unto him, he call'd Twelve Apoſtles, to render him a more particular ſubjection, and be neareſt to his perſon. Even amongſt thoſe, there were Three to whom he declared himſelf more familiarly then to the reſt: He ſhewed them thoſe marks of his Divinity, which he hid from their companions; He communicated many ſecrets of the future, during the agitation of his approaching death, and amongſt the diſquiets of his laſt thoughts.

Beſides this, he witneſſed more tenderneſs for one of the three, then for the two others. S. *John* without difficulty calls himſelf the Beloved and the Favorite of his Maſter: He every-where glorifies himſelf of that favor; And methinks he uſed it with liberty enough, whenas he ſlept in the

the bosom of so great and dreadful a Master. Consider him but in the Picture of the Holy Supper, and see how he carelessly rests his head on a place whereto the Seraphins convеigh their looks with devotion.

Since the Author and Consummater therefore of Vertue as well as of Faith, hath had his Inclinations and his Friendships, and would not always command Nature; A Prince ought not fear to love after an Example of such Authority which yields him a full permission; And by the principles of a more wise Philosophy then was that of *Zeno* or of *Chrysippus*, he may be sensible, without being call'd Intemperate.

The motions of his Soul need only be just and well regulated. Let him do good, but let him observe a proportion and measure in the distribution of the good he doth. Let him not presently thrust into his Council those whose conversation was grateful to him: We ought to make a difference betwixt persons which delight us, and those which are profitable to us; betwixt the recreations of the Mind, and the necessities of a State. And if he take not an especial care in the examen of the different Subjects he imployes, he will make Equivokes for which his Age will suffer, and which will be reproch'd him by the Ages to come.

Courtiers

Courtiers are the Matter, and the ince is the Artiſt; who can eaſily nder this matter fairer, but not better en it is: He can add unto it colours d ſhape in the outſide, but cannot give any interior goodneſs: He may make n Idol and a falſe God of it; but he can either make a Spirit of it, nor an able an.

Even in Chriſtendom ſuch Idols are to ſeen: There have been always unworthy perſons happy; Monkies have en careſſed in Kings Cabinets, and apparell'd in cloth of gold; In *Egypt* there ave been Beaſts ſeen on the Altars; Everyhere there have been Defects and Vices lor'd. What I am about to tell Your ighneſs, I have learn'd from You; and find it worthy of the ſpirit of *Marcus ntonius* the Philoſopher. *There is an Authority which is blind and dumb, which neither knows nor underſtands; which appears only and which dazles; which is pure reign'd Authority, without any mixture of Vertue or of Reaſon. There are Grandees who are only remarkable by their Greatneſs; and their Greatneſs is all without them, and altogether ſeparate from their perſons.*

Theſe Great ones (my Lord) make me remember certain fruitleſs Mountains, which formerly ſaw travelling about the world, which produce neither herb nor plant;

They

They touch Heaven, and ſerve the Earth for no uſe; Their ſterility makes their height accurſed. Theſe, after the ſame manner, are not leſs unprofitable then they are great; and I look upon them as the vain Monſters of the power and magnificence of Kings; like the Coloſſes which they have raiſed, and the Pyramids which they have built: They are the burdens and hinderances of their Kingdoms, which weigh down all the parts of the State; They are ſuperfluities which occupy more room then neceſſary things. This is to be underſtood, conſidering them in a weakneſs which is innocent, and before they have added the injury of their Actions to the unworthineſs of their Perſons.

Theſe are the fair works of Fortune; theſe are the ſlights and extravagancies of this Goddeſs, who is without eyes and without judgment; to whom *Rome* hath given ſo many Names, and dedicated ſo many Altars. You have heard of ſome hypocondriacal Queens who have faln in love with a Dwarf, a Moor, even a Bull and a Horſe. Fortune is much of the ſame humor of theſe giddy-brain'd Princeſſes; ſhe commonly ſelects the moſt ill-favored and the moſt ill-ſhap'd: When the Pretorſhip is in queſtion, ſhe preferrs *Vatinius* his Kings-evil before the Vertue of *Cato:* And that we may ſay nothing that's worſe, ſhe practiſeth Profuſeneſs, nor doth ſhe pay Debts.

But

But we ſpeak of a phantaſm, when we ſpeak of Fortune. The force of the Stars, and the neceſſity of Deſtiny, are alſo other phantaſms which the opinions of men form, after which I have no mind to run. Let us ſeek ſome more apparent cauſe of this favor, which ſeems to have no cauſe; And as near as we can, let us obſerve the birth of this ſame perverſe Authority.

What we ſeek, is it not a tranſport of Paſſion, which without reaſoning eſcapes from the animal part, and ſtops at the firſt pleaſing object, and at the firſt ſatisfaction of the Will?

Is it not a ſport and a fancy of Power, an exerciſe and an employment of Royalty, which takes a pleaſure to do ſtrange things; To aſtoniſh the world by Prodigies, To change the fate of the little and miſerable, To paint and guild the duſt?

Is it not on the contrary a ſerious and deliberate error, a cheat to true fidelity, done to ones ſelf by ones ſelf, help'd by the impoſture of Appearance, which ſometimes diſguiſeth men in ſuch a manner, that they are to be known by none but God? 'tis certain, that moſt commonly they wear ſuch doubtful marks, and what appears of them is ſo falſe, that he alone who hath made them knows their true value.

But the Effect, which we take ſo much pains to draw from the obſcurity of the Cauſes, ſhould it not be a Preſent made by Occaſion?

Occaſion? For, it's ſhe who commonly offers Servants to Princes; She obligeth them to take what comes to hand, and what comes in ſight. Their impatience being unable to ſuffer delay, and their ſoftneſs being an enemy to all manner of trouble; to ſpare themſelves the tediouſneſs of enquiry, and the difficulties of choice, they ſet to work the neareſt Inſtruments, and retain as it were by cuſtom thoſe whom they took but by chance.

To conclude: This Favor which raiſeth it ſelf to this height without any foundation, ſhould it not rather be an effect of ſelf-love and a complacencie, which no man refuſeth to his own opinions? Should it not be our honor which we conceive engag'd in the perfection of our work? Should it not be a leven of that natural pride hid in the minds of men, which particularly ſwells the hearts of Kings, when the maintaining of a fault which they have committed is in queſtion, that ſo they might not confeſs that they can erre.

Whatſoever this Favor is, it's none of Vertues creatures, not ſo much as of the vertue of Blood; Merit hath no ſhare in it, not even the merit of the Race. The freed men by *Claudius*; the Servants of *Conſtantine's* Children; the Governors of thoſe of *Theodoſius*; the *Euſebius's* and the *Eutropius's*, are no legitimate Favorites, far leſs legitimate Miniſters. And truly, I pity the Empire,

Empire, and am aſham'd of the Emperor, when I ſee the Empire & Emperor in ſuch ſervile mercenary hands. With horror I look on thoſe baſe ſpectacles of unhappy Reigns, thoſe monſtrous productions of evil times; Blind times, times full of darkneſs, unhappy in Princes, and barren of Men. And in your opinion, was there ever any ſolitary perſon ſo eſtranged from Court, who was ſo little intereſſed in the things of this world, who without diſdain could look on things ſo disjointed, and ſee the world overturned after ſuch a manner? Was there ever ſo calm a Contemplative, who without emotion could ſee people of nought wreſt into their hands the conduct of great States, and ſeat themſelves at the ſtern, although they ought only to have been at the oar? Yet hath this been ſeen, and that often too. The Conſulare was profan'd more then once by infamous perſons; And he who under anothers reign muſt have been hid amongſt the Baggage, hath had the command of an Army.

But beſides the *Euſebiuſſes* and the *Eutropiuſſes*, the Hiſtory of the Empire of the Orient wants not many ſuch ſhameful examples: It ſhews us miſerable Eunuchs, who had only learn'd how to comb women and how to ſpin, lifted up all at once to be Heads of the Council and Captains General. And other more recent Hiſtories produce ſuch as were Barbers, Tailors, Grooms of

the Chamber the evening before, the next morning chang'd into Chamberlains, Ambaſſadors &c. employed about the moſt important Negotiations and moſt illuſtrious Offices of their Country. So that whatſoever our Man can ſay, He who admires the Court and the Arts of Court, audacious Ignorance hath often preſided in the Conduct of humane things. Although he ſwears that he hath ſeen rays about the face of Monſieur the Duke of ***, this falſe light is but a deception of the ſight and an illuſion of his mind. Fools have often held the places of Wiſe men; and there was a time when thoſe who ought to have dictated the Laws and pronounc'd Oracles, could neither write nor read. It was not that their common ſenſe was the clearer, for not beſng imbroil'd in any ſtranger knowledges. They neither had the goods of Nature, nor any acquir'd goods: They only had what commonly follows natural and acquired goods; I would ſay, a good opinion of themſelves, accompanied with the deſpiſing of others. Although it is not the common courſe to know affairs by revelation, and that they are to be learn'd by Experience, unleſs we can outgo Experience by the ſtrength of Reaſon. They perſwaded themſelves, that Authority ſupplied all that; and that immediately after their promotion God was obliged to endow them with a ſpirit of well-governing, and to render the

Princes

Princes election valid by a ſudden illumination of his Miniſters.

Yet it is not ſo to be ordered. It's all what God hath been pleaſed to do for the Miniſters of his only Son, of whom we have ſaid ſomewhat at the beginning of this Diſcourſe. It's whereby he mocks proud Philoſophy: He hath confounded humane Prudence, by taking thoſe new and groſs ſouls to be the Confidents of his Secrets, filling them very full (as an antient Chriſtian ſays) becauſe he found them very empty. He hath taken from their cabins and from their ſhops, thoſe whom he would make the Kings and Doctors of Nations. Other Ignorants muſt never pretend to be ſo enlightned; Nor that in ſtead of the Spirit of Prophecie, explicating of the Scriptures, and the gift of Tongues, they ſhould expect from hence the knowledge of paſt things, the penetration into things to come, the light which diſembroils the intrigues of the Court, the ſcience of making War, and the dexterity of treating Peace.

Beſides, they commonly ſucceed very ill in a Profeſſion which they never learn'd, and in the exerciſe whereof they have indiſcreetly caſt themſelves without the help of any preparative diſcipline, without any ground of experience, without knowing ſo much as the firſt elements of Civil wiſdom. You muſt make uſe of Addreſs and of Method, to conduct a Boat and to guide a

Chariot: You must know the ways, if you will go for a Guide. I have seen Rules and Precepts how to discharge the office of a Porter, and that of a Jaylor, although they are two employments which are of no great difficulty. You must therefore learn all the Trades, and study all the Arts, even the least and those which are most easie. And shall he who is to direct humane kind, need no instruction? shall the World be governed by Chance and Adventure? May we thus with three Dice play for the safety of Nations and Kingdoms?

This is indeed unworthily to be in stead of God; it's to act *Phaeton* in the World, and unequally to dispence light and heat on the face of the earth; It's to endanger the burning of one part, and the freezing of the other. Ignorant Favorites every day run this hazard, and are engaged in this continual danger; I mean, of losing themselves and of losing their Country, even when they have refin'd their Ignorance by the Customs of Court; and that two or three good successes which come from the pure liberality of God, have made them have a good opinion of themselves, and made them believe they did the good which they did but receive.

All their Actions are then out of frame; they are the false Measures of a false Rule. Instead of knowing where to stop at such a point of Occasion, so much enquired after

by

by the wiſe, and ſo neceſſary for the perfecting of affairs, they always either go before or after it; either they paſs beyond it, or they attain it not. To day, out of anger, they declare a War; To morrow, out of cowardlineſs, they beg a Peace: They flatter the natural Enemies of their Country, and offend the antient Allies of the Crown. In *Spain* they would give Liberty of Conſcience; In *France* they would introduce the Inquiſition. The Frontiers are naked and diſarmed, and they fortifie the Heart of the State. They have a mind to raze the Citadel at *Amiens*, and to build one at *Orleans*.

But the Elections which they make of others, are very worthy of that which was made of them. For an Ambaſſage to *Rome* they propoſe to the Prince an expert Captain of a Troop, who hath ſignaliz'd himſelf in divers battels. Upon their recommendation, an old Prodigal is plac'd in the Exchequer, who in his youth ſpent all he had, but who ſpeaks admirably well of Oeconomy. They require the Charge of Chief Juſtice for a man who is indeed of the Long-robe, but renown'd for his little knowledge in Learning. Of the ſame form he was who liv'd at *Paris* in our fathers days, when the Ambaſſadors of *Poland* arriv'd there; they having complemented this man in Latine, he pray'd them to excuſe him for not returning them an anſwer, *Becauſe he never*

*never had had the curioſity to learn the Polonian language.*

You ſmile, my Lord, and are aſtoniſhed at the great literature of this man of the Long-robe. He made many other Equivoques, and ſome are told of him which are nothing ungrateful. It was he who thought *Seneca* was a Doctor of the Canon-Law, and that in his Book *de Beneficiis* he had fully handled all matters concerning Benefices. One *** of that time made him believe that *Morea* was the *Moors* Country. And there is nothing more true, then that he ſought a whole day in his Map for *Democracy* and *Ariſticracy*, thinking to find them as well as *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*.

It were a pleaſure to be Learned under ſuch a Reign, and the Muſes may have great hopes of protection from ſuch like Miniſters. But let us proceed and not conſider the intereſt of the Muſes, whoſe fate it is to be poor and ill uſed under all kind of Governments, and by all manner of Miniſters.

Theſe underſtand Men and Buſineſs, as you ſee. After having diſſipated the Revenues of the State in evil and ridiculous expences, that they may appear parcimonious, they ſuffer an important Occaſion to be loſt for want of Fifty crowns, which they will not allow for the diſpatch of an Extraordinary Courier: They expect the day of the Ordinary Poſt, and imagine that Occaſion will ſtay for him as well as they do. A Politick

Doctor

Doctor who hath whiſtled them to his lure, and put into them five or ſix words out of our *Tacitus*, for having alleaged it a hundred times a day on every accident, hath recommended unto them Secrecie and Diſſimulation. This leſſon being taught them, they make a Myſtery of every thing; they expreſs themſelves but by caſts of their eys, and by motions of their heads: At leaſt they ſpeak only in the ear, even when they praiſe their Maſter, and ſay, That he is the greateſt Prince in the world.

This religion of Silence hath gain'd upon their minds with ſo much ſuperſtition, that they ſcruple to give neceſſary Orders to thoſe who are to execute them, ſo much are they afraid to diſcover what was reſolv'd in Council. They attentively hearken to an Alchymiſt, who promiſeth them mountains of gold: With open arms they receive a Baniſh'd perſon, who with eaſe diſcovers to them the Conqueſt of his own Country: And truſting on the faith of one or other, they imbarque themſelves in ſome great Deſign, and begin a huge War, which the ſecond day after they are tir'd withall. They do a thouſand ſuch like things. And if theſe Examples are not to be found in this Age, they were certainly in the paſt. If theſe Ignorant preſumptuous, if theſe ridiculous Almighty-men have not been in *France* and *Germany*, there have been of them in *Spain* and in *Italy*.

The misery of the Times, (It's better to accuse the Time then the Prince) this publick misery, which hath caus'd Money to be made of Iron and of Leather, which hath set a value on the vilest things, hath also brought in request such men, and introduc'd them into the Cabinet of Kings; whither they have drawn along with them all the ordure of their births, and all the vitious habits which servile minds were capable of. For this is one Chapter of their their History, which ought not to be forgotten. And it's certain, that their Innocence never lasted much longer at Court, then that of the first Man's did in the terrestrial Paradise.

At first, although perhaps they were not born wicked, they did believe they ought to become so, and so di.charg'd themselves of their Con.ciences, that with less encumbrance they might manage the affairs of State. Moreover, they thought that Pride was well becoming their dignity; That should they appear the same they formerly were, their condition would be nothing chang'd, and their Civility would replace them into that Equality whence they had newly forc'd themselves with so much trouble. Thus they apprehended not to fall into hatred, that they might shun contempt: They have made themselves feared, being not able to make themselves respected: They esteemed that there was no way left

left to blot out the memory of their antient baſeneſs, but by the preſent object of their Tyranny; nor could they hinder the People from laughing at their infirmities, but by employing them to weep for their own miſeries, and complain of their cruelties.

With theſe fair Maxims and theſe Antipoliges which I have rough-caſt, they have govern'd the world; but they govern'd it after a ſtrange manner: They have overthrown what they would have maintain'd; they have broken what they had a deſign to fix: They have caus'd as many ruines, as they intended to make eſtabliſhments; they have ſpoil'd as many things, as they have undertaken. The falls of Princes, and the loſs of States, have been the ſucceſſes of their Adminiſtration. Having ſeiſed on the Soveraign power, (I conſider them again in their innocent infirmity) they have exerciſed it as children do knives, who moſt commonly hurt themſelves, and offend therewith their Mothers and their Nurſes.

IF the Temerity of ſuch perſons hath not always been unhappy: If they have arrived at the Port, ſteering a Courſe which in appearance eſtranged them the farther off, (For it's moſt certain that theſe miracles have been ſeen; and I know ſome who have ſaved themſelves by actions,

which ſhould indeed have loſt them:) yet muſt we not confide in this blind Felicity which guided them; We muſt look upon them as perſons tranſported with a violent imagination, who paſs over Rivers in their ſleep, without knowing how to ſwim and run over Precipices without taking a falſe ſtep. We muſt admire them as *DIVINE BEASTS*, and not imitate them as *REASONABLE MEN*. This word I had from that good man *Alexander Picolomini*, when I viſited him as I paſs'd the *Seine*, and found him on that green bed which *Thuanus* ſpeaks of.

If you ever are Favorites, (with his Highneſs's permiſſion I ſhall addreſs my words to theſe two young Gentlemen who hear me) never propoſe to your ſelves ſuch like examples. They are very dangerous, how ſplendent ſoever they are: They are *Flambeaux* lighted on ſhelves, they ſhipwrack young Pylots: They are Addreſſes which lead their followers to death, which ſerve only to deceive Poſterity, to teach men Error, to give credit and reputation to Imprudence.

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# THE THIRD DISCOURSE.

AS thoſe whom we left yeſterday want a requiſite Capacity, and have a very ſhort and limited Underſtanding; There are others to be found who have it too ſpacious and too far extended, and who reaſon with exceſs. I ſpeak of thoſe Speculative perſons who commonly aim beyond the End; who quit the Road, to find By-ways; who wander, that they may the ſooner arrive whither they intend.

Let us, if you pleaſe, call them Extractors of Eſſences. They bring their Advice to the Alimbeck, and reduce it to nothing by the force of ſubtiliſing it: They evaporate in ſmoke the moſt ſolid Affairs. Let us call them State-Hereticks; which in Policie would do, what *Origen* did in Religion. They follow the ſhadows and images of things, in ſtead of linking themſelves to their bodies and to their reality. They imbrace Probability, becauſe they have paint-

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ed and embelliſh'd it after their mode: But they reject the Truth, becauſe it's none of their invention, and that it hath its foundation in itſelf.

Theſe Gentlemen fancie, That everywhere there is Subtility and Deſign; and that all the Actions of Man are premeditated: Nothing preſents it ſelf to ſight, whereof they ſeek not the myſtical and allegorical ſenſe: Theſe ſubtile Interpreters of other mens thoughts, never ſtop at the letter: And when two Princes with all their ſtrength and with all the power of their States aſſault one the other, it's believ'd they hold Intelligence to cozen the reſt of the Princes. They make Judgments very like thoſe ſportful ones which were made at *Athens*; *That the death of King Philip was not to be believ'd; and that he had expreſly cauſed himſelf to be kill'd, to entrap the Athenians.*

By this ill encounter we may perceive how far a perverſe ſubtility will go, and what the ſpirit of *Greece* is and of theſe Speculatives. But there have been Speculators in all Countries; there have ever been Alchymiſts and Bellows blowers, who have diſtill'd humane things, who have given more liberty then they ought to their conjectures and ſuſpitions. Becauſe *Junius Brutus* counterfeited the Fool, they have miſdoubted all other Fools: They fancied that all Changelings imitated *Brutus*; That

their

apparent Simplicity was a hidden Artifice: That thoſe who knew nothing, diſſembled their Knowledge; That the ſilence of thoſe who ſaid nothing, was a cover for dangerous thoughts.

It was the opinion which a Roman Prince had of a certain weak-witted man of his time, whom the Pages hiſs'd, and whom no body eſteem'd but himſelf: The Hiſtory relates, *That he apprehended his ſecret vertues*; and that the univerſal ſcorn of the Court, and five and twenty years Impertinencies in deeds or words before the face of all the world, could never ſecure him from that man.

From the ſame Principle of Falſe ſubtilitie, thoſe Viſions ſpring which our Man finds to be ſo ingenious, and which to me ſeem ſo ridiculous, which the Doctors admire, and I cannot endure. At this paſſage *Ariſtippus* addreſſing his ſpeech to the two Gentlemen who heard him; Do you think (ſays he) that like theſe ſubtile Doctors, *Hannibal* would not have taken *Rome*, for fear it would no longer be profitable to *Carthage*, and leſt thereby he ſhould have been oblig'd to finiſh that War which he had a minde to perpetuate? Did *Auguſtus*, in your opinion, chooſe *Tiberius* for his Succeſſor, that his loſs might thereby be regretted, and thereby to ſeek glory after his death, by the compariſon of a life ſo much different from his?

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Do you believe that the Counſel which was found amongſt his Memorials, to place good men in the Empire, was an effect of his envy againſt Poſterity? Was he afraid that ſome after-time another man ſhould be a greater Lord then he, and the Commander of more Subjects? Is it credible, that the ſame *Auguſtus* made Love only out of Maxims of State, and courted the Ladies of *Rome* but only to learn their Huſbands ſecrets? Is there any likelihood, that his ſoul ſhould move only according to rule and compaſs? That all his actions were ballanc'd, and that all his vices were ſtudied?

In my conceit, this is to make the World more ſubtile then it is. 'Tis to interpret Princes, as ſome Grammarians explain *Homer*, who find what is not in him, and accuſe him for a Philoſopher and a Phyſitian, in ſome places, where he only is a forger of tales and a compoſer of ſongs. Let's ſometimes content ourſelvs with the literal ſenſe; Let's not ſeek a Sacrament under every ſyllable and under every point: Let's not be ſo indulgent to our own minds, nor ſo curious in ſearching into another man's. We need not go ſo far to ſeek the Truth, nor take things ſo high: We need not relate to hidden cauſes, and the Counſels of the paſt Age, preſent Succeſſes, or which happen'd by Chance, or which a ſlight Occaſion hath brought to paſs.

The Stoicks, who would not *that the*

*leaf*

*leaf of a tree ſhould move without the particular order of Providence, nor that a wiſe man ſhould lift up his finger without the leave of Philoſophy*; judg'd not more advantagiouſly of God, and of that Perſon who was neareſt God, then theſe Refiners preſume of a Man, who is often leſs then a mean one; who hath but a quarter or half a ſhare of the Reaſonable; who all his life never thought of being wiſe, nor of drawing near God. There is no Mean whereby to ajuſt their Opinions to our common capacity; They cannot deſcend to us. In the judgment which they make of Men, they cannot preſuppoſe a humane infirmity, that is to ſay, a Principle of errors and of faults: A diſeaſe born with us, from which nor *Alexander* nor *Caſar* were exempt; A defect which draws after it ſo many other defects in the perſons of the moſt perfect, in the conduct of the wiſe, and if you pleaſe, even in that of *Solomon* himſelf.

Great Events are not always produced by great Cauſes. The Springs are hid, and the Machines appear; and when the Springs are diſcovered, we are aſtoniſh'd to ſee them ſo ſmall and ſo weak; we are aſhamed of the high opinion we had of them. A jealouſie of love betwixt particular perſons, hath been the cauſe of a general War: Names given or taken by chance, The Green and Red, at the Games of the *Circus*, have made parties and factions which have

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torne in pieces the Empire. The Motto or the body of a Device, the faſhion of a Livery, the relation of a Domeſtick, a Tale told at the Kings going to bed, is in appearance nothing; and yet this Nothing hath been the beginning of Tragedies, wherein ſo much blood hath been ſhed, and ſo many heads made flie. It's but a Cloud which paſſeth, and a ſtain in ſome corner of the Air, which vaniſheth rather then abides: And yet it's this light Vapor, it's this almoſt imperceptible Cloud which raiſeth thoſe fatal Tempeſts which States are ſenſible of, and which ſhake the very foundations of the Earth. Yet ſome formerly have imagin'd, that it was their Maſters Intereſts which enflam'd all the World, when it was only their Servants Paſſions.

I doubt not but the King of *Perſia* made moſt ſpecious pretences to juſtifie his Arms when he came into *Greece*, and but that his Manifeſts told wonders of his intentions: He wanted neither Pretences nor Right: He forgot not, that the great King came only to chaſtiſe the petty Tyrants; and that he offer'd the People a rich and plentiful liberty, in ſtead of a poor and barren ſervitude. He falſified his deſign ſeveral ways; and yet ſwore, perhaps, that this deſign was immediately inſpir'd him from the immortal Gods, and that the Sun was the primary Author of it. Not-

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withſtanding ſome Manifeſts which he diſperſed abroad, and ſome color of Juſtice and of Religion which he color'd his Enterpriſe withall; This was the truth of the buſineſs:

A Grecian Phyſitian, the Queens Domeſtick, having a mind to review the Port of *Pyreum*, and to eat the figs of *Athens*, put this fancy of War into his Miſtreſſes head, and got her to engage her Husband in the Deſign. So that the King of Kings, the powerful and redoubted *Xerxes*, raiſed an Army of Three hundred thouſand Combatants, cut the Mountains, dryed up Rivers, overburthen'd the Sea, for nothing but to bring back a Mountebank into his Country; methinks this gallant perſon might well have gone the journey with leſs expence, and with a leſs numerous company.

But there preſents it ſelf to my memory (my Lord) another thing which deſerves to be known, which you will find nothing ungrateful. It happen'd in the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, more then fourſcore years before the birth of King *Philip*; at the time of that famous Conſpiracie, which of one State made two, and divided the Court, the Towns, and Families.

It was *Meleagers* Wife, Governor of a Frontier-town and General of the Cavalry, who oblig'd her Husband to revolt, and that indeed

ſor a very worthy ſubject. The King having heard of the ſpirit and gallantry of that woman, he had a mind to ſee her one day privately. It was nothing difficult for him to obtain a favor which ſhe eaſily granted to leſſer great Lords, and to leſs civil perſons then himſelf: She accuſtom'd not herſelf to tire the conſtancie of her Lovers, nor to cauſe any of them to die for deſpair. The King being come to the place aſſign'd, and by misfortune finding her to be no ſuch thing as he had fancied her, he at firſt ſight witneſs'd his diſguſt, and went away preſently with very little ſatisfaction. This affront was ſo briskly reſented by her who took it, and who had no ill opinion of her own merit, that from that very hour ſhe vowed revenge: And being unable to effect it better then by corrupting her Huſbands fidelity, and debauching him from the ſervice of his Maſter, ſhe to that end imployed all the charms both of her mind and countenance. She on ſo credulous a ſpirit made uſe of the moſt ſubtile inventions which an artificial ſoul is capable of. And you need not doubt but in the heat of her revenge ſhe would have had an infinite many Huſbands, to have engag'd an infinite number of Enemies againſt the King, and to have demanded ſatisfaction with more ſwords of the offence which ſhe believ'd ſhe had received.

Thus did *Meleager* quit the ſervice of his King,

King, and imbark himſelf in the Party of a Tyrant, without knowing what motion drove him, nor what paſſion he reveng'd. He acted a perſon he underſtood not; He was his Wives ſoldier, and thought himſelf one of the chief Heads of the League. So eaſie, you ſee, it is for a man to deceive ſelf in the judgment which he makes of the actions of men; ſince men themſelves who act, are themſelves he firſt deceiv'd, the true cauſe being not always known unto them. They are often blind inſtruments, and are without knowledge of the intereſts or paſſions of another.

The Speculatives of *Macedonia* forbore not to publiſh plauſible and ſpecious reaſons for *Meleagers* revolt. Some ſay, that a reproach which the King caſt on him in preſence of the Theſſalian Ambaſſadors, did ſo deeply ſtrike him to the heart and made ſo wide a wound, that it could never be cur'd; That the careſſes and favors which he receiv'd ſince that, were uſeleſs plaiſters applied to his wounded heart; and the remembrance of an injury, took from him the ſenſe of a thouſand benefits. Others alleage the refuſal of an Office he had demanded for his Son; which indeed was not given to another, but was ſuppreſs'd, to keep him from entring into his family. There were ſome who excuſed this his change by the love he bore his Country and his zeal for the antient Religion, which

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THeſe two Inrodes which we have made into *Greece* and *Macedon*, were in our way, and I dare believe they were nothing diſpleaſing to Your Highneſs. But I believe further, That You judge as well as I, that it's much more fit to divulge Viſions in Hiſtory then at the Council; and that Subtility, when it's amiſs, is leſs dangerous when it relates things done, then when we deliberate what is to be done. And here, that we may ſay nothing which can be worſe, It's the cauſe why things are not done at all.

The People of *Athens* are too able to deceive the People of *Thebes*: Thoſe plant their nets ſo high, and theſe flie ſo low, that they muſt do ſomething extraordinary to be taken. I ſay moreover, The *Athenians* ſomerimes employ their ſubtilities to make themſelves believe ſo, and thereby deceive themſelves. From their falſe Principles they

they muſt neceſſarily draw falſe Concluſions, and can never negotiate happily, nor ever bring their Adverſaries about to them, keeping themſelves always in terms ſo far from them, and coming ſo little near them, that they are ſo far from joyning together, that they cannot ſo much as know one another.

It's hard to hear better Orators, or to ſee Opinions better debated. But you muſt look for no more: They therein place all their care and all their induſtry: They make it ſo much their ſtudy, as if Diſcourſe were the principal end of Deliberation, and ſomewhat above Action it ſelf. They had rather make their Eloquence appear to the ruine of the State, then to preſerve it without ſpeaking word. They eſteem it a greater advantage to bear away the bell in Council from the reſt of their Companions, then to beat their Enemies in the field So that they accompt as nothing the diſgraces of War, hoping always to have their revenge at the next Treaty. And yet there they meet with ſome Mind of ſteel which is incapable of perſwaſion, which will cut what it cannot untie, and with a firm and conſtant Negative break all their ſnares and all their wiles, without troubling it ſelf to unravel them.

Witneſs that Governor of *Figeac*, who being at a Conference which Queen *Catherine* held with the Deputies of the King of *Navar* and

and the *Huguenot* Party; which was to make them quit, before the time agreed on, thoſe Places of ſecurity which had been put into their hands: She had brought from *Paris* a man almighty in words, to whoſe Rhetorick nothing till then had been impoſſible. He from the beginning makes himſelf admir'd by the Aſſembly: In purſuit he raiſeth ſweeter paſſions in the hearts of the Deputies; and after having overcome their minds, he gains their wills: And already the moſt miſtruſtful had forgotten the Maſſacre, and would no longer have any Places of ſecurity: They acquieſced on the word of the King, and the Treaty was about to be concluded to the great ſatisfaction of the Queen; when in a moment all their labor was loſt, and all her Orators Eloquence was overthrown, by that briſk anſwer which the Governor of *Figeac* made. This Princeſs had addreſs'd herſelf to him with a triumphing Mine; and having asked him (rather to crown a thing done, and to gain applauſe, than that ſhe thought ſhe wanted his opinion) what he thought of the Speech he had heard: MADAM, anſwer'd he, with a voice ſo ſtrong, that it broke the Articles of the already half-concluded Treaty, METHINKS THIS GENTLEMAN HERE HATH STUDIED VERY WELL; BUT NEITHER MY COMPANIONS NOR MYSELF ARE

OF

OF OPINION TO PAY FOR HIS STUDY WITH OUR HEADS.

Yet this Gentleman, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in another place, was a very expert Negotiator, who had in other occaſions ſucceeded moſt happily; And although he reign'd in the Art of Well-ſpeaking, yet was he not of thoſe men who can do nothing but ſpeak: He made this Science ſerve a better, and preferr'd not with them the glories of his Mind before the good of his Maſters ſervice.

Our Men in effect are rather Declamators then Miniſters; rather Sophiſts then Counſellors. They are not ſo much offended at the ill ſucceſs of affairs, as they are pleaſed with the honor they have gotten for having well oration'd on every one of the debated Propoſitions, and for having made themſelves admir'd by the Deputies and by the Aſſembly. Their vanity eaſily conſolates their misfortunes. It's ſufficient for them to treat on the Deliberative Gender according to the precepts of *Quintilian*, and to know how to manage things through all thoſe ways which *Ariſtotle* teacheth. Theſe are the bounds of their Ambition: If they have not ſinn'd againſt the Rules of Art, they are fully ſatisfied. And therein I find them like a Phyſitian of *Milan*, whom I knew at *Padua*: This man being content with the poſſeſſion of his Science, and (as he

he ſaid) of the *enjoyment of the Truth*, did not particularly enquire into Medicine the Cure of Diſeaſes: Nay, he once boaſted, That he had kill'd a man with the fairеſt Method in the world; *E morto*, ſaid he, *canonicamente, e con tutti gli ordini.*

In eaſie buſineſſes they ſow thorns, that they may reap them. In the leaſt Occurrent which preſents it ſelf, they raiſe a thouſand difficulties: They find as many Expedients, and moſt commonly form no Reſolution: The very many things which they ſee in every Subject, taking from them the liberty of choice; and Abundance rendring them poor. They entangle themſelves in the multitude of their Reaſons, and moſt commonly ſtop at the worſt. And this is the reaſon: It's becauſe the worſt is the laſt Endeavor of their already tired Fancy; and that it having been to ſeek beyond Common ſenſe, which was already drawn dry, it ſeems to be more theirs then the reſt which were drawn from that publick ſpring, or which they had taken from Experience.

At this rate, what a good thing is *That ſobriety of knowledge and of underſtanding*, ſo much eſteem'd by the ſacred Scriptures? Let's confeſs it to the ſhame of Humane Reaſon, and of the Subtility of the Sophiſts: A great Mind being alone, is a great Inſtrument to commit faults; And

if

if a neceſſary Judgment weigh it not down and clear it not, to ſubject it to uſe and accommodate it to example and practice, doubtleſs its penetrating vivacity would be far more fit to agitate Metaphyſical Queſtions then to give good Counſel, then to undertake or to act as one ought. In effect, humane actions muſt be humanely managed, that is to ſay, by poſſible and familiar means, in a way which holds from the Body as well as from the Mind; with Reaſons which ſometimes fall under ſenſe, and which do not always abide in the upper Region of the ſoul.

Thoſe Refiners who act otherwiſe, are good to embroil Negotiations, and are nothing worth to bring affairs to concluſion: They are excellent Diſorderers to confound a State, but ill Miniſters to govern it. They ſucceed in Diſorder, and as the Spirits of the Air they mingle themſelves amongſt Thunder; but they have no more force as ſoon as a Calm appears, the point which dazeled us being but a light of Lightening; it's very dangerous to make uſe of ſuch like addreſs in the variety of accidents, and in the ſeveral diſtortings of a civil life.

But were it a true and continual light whereby they are guided, were it the Sun it ſelf which conducted them, it makes not that they muſt always find the end they ſeek, and that they muſt arive whither they tend.

And of this, my Lord, I ſhould have ſomewhat elſe to ſay, if the noiſe of a Coach and of ſeveral voices which I hear, did not give me notice that this is that hour of Audience which Monſieur the Duke of *Eſpernon* hath demanded of Your Highneſs.

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THE

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# THE FOURTH DISCOURSE.

THE Landgrave fail'd not to be brought the next day at the ordinary hour into the Chamber appointed for Converſation. After having witneſs'd to *Ariſtippus* the ſatisfaction which his laſt Diſcourſe had given him, he deſired him not to fall on a new ſubject, till he had finiſh'd what he had left imperfect. *Ariſtippus* obeyed him, and ſpake much after this manner.

A Man cannot believe how Reaſon wanders; I ſpeak of that which is moſt right and the moſt enlightned: And how much Men deceive themſelves; I mean the moſt able and the moſt intelligent: That there is a great diſtance betwixt Words and Things; and that it is not the ſame thing to bring forth, as it is to conceive; to execute, as it is to diſcourſe. In Conception and in Diſcourſe, it ſeems as if all laugh'd, and that all would pleaſe us. To a

Mind employed in a delightful Exerciſe, in the ſearch of what it deſires, and in believing what is ſought, there is nothing but joy, nothing but what tickles us. In this condition it receives them as the firſt delights of Love; it reliſheth thoſe ſweets which ſpring from new Opinions, and from the diſcovery of the Truth, or of ſomewhat which reſembles it. So long as the Mind thinks, and ſo long as it reaſons, no body diſquiets it in the poſſeſſion of its Object: It maſters Deſigns and Enterpriſes; it runs after fair Idea's which ſuffer themſelves to be taken at pleaſure; and meeting neither with contradiction nor reſiſtance, it enjoys the purity of an Intellectual Good, which was never yet alter'd by Action.

But neither is this all: It muſt at laſt quit theſe enchanted places, and iſſue out of theſe vaſt ſpaces, to enter into the true World. You muſt ſet your hands to the work, and come to Action after Meditation. Then it is that things take a new face, when they are no longer ſo fair, nor ſo eaſie: Then it is, that the Soul is in labor and ſuffers the throws of travel: Then it is, that painful Effects follow voluptuous Reaſonings; and that what appeared a Friend and favorable in thought, revolts and becomes an Adverſary in the operation. It's then no longer a Merchant at the Port, who trades by the Map, and propoſeth to himſelf gain without danger, and a voyage without a

ſtorm

ſtorm: It's a maker of Vows in the midſt of a Tempeſt, who now repents that he ever parted from home; who caſts his wares into the waves, who ſeeks for a plank to ſave his own life. The winds do not riſe againſt words and deliberations, throw not themſelves againſt ſhelves: The Cabinet is a place of peace and reſt, where we trace out and where we deſign things abſent, and objects which are far off. Beſides, Picture may repreſent a thing, and yet not be it; There is always a difference: And there needs but a beginning of Paſſion, but the weak boilings of Anger, but a light tincture of Shame, but a ſlight grimace to ſpoil all the reſemblance, and to make another thing, even a contrary thing of what we eſteem'd the ſame, or at leaſt like it.

I ſhall leave you, my Lord, to think on the ſecond part of this Compariſon, and conclude, That Affairs have days, byaſſes and poſtures, which are neither to be ſeen nor obſerv'd but in the affairs themſelves, which embroil all the draughts and all the notions which out of it could poſſibly have been form'd of it. There are certain motions and certain times which render our own knowledge unknown unto us: Study cannot prevent them, Diſcourſe cannot ſever them from action: They hold and link themſelves ſo faſt unto it, that there is no way left to ſunder them; and on the other ſide, they paſs ſo quick and ſo imperceptibly, that it's impoſſible to copy them.

The Romans meant this, when they ſaid, *That a man ought to deliberate with Occaſion, and in the preſence of Affairs; That a man ought to conſult with his Enemy, and reſolve himſelf at ſight of his Mine and looks: That the Gladiator took Counſel in the Ampitheater; That often Counſel was rather to be raviſh'd then to be taken.*

This is principally to be underſtood in War and Military actions. But there is a War (which is hardly credible) even in peaceable and diſarmed Actions: We muſt fight every-where, one way or other. And Doubt, Objection, Contrary Reaſon do not always aſſault us in the Front nor openly; they often lie in wait for us and in Ambuſhes.

Thoſe Difficulties which were hid from our mind, in an inſtant preſent themſelves to the ſight. Time breeds its hinderances, Men often cauſe theirs. One onely Circumſtance changeth all the nature of an Occaſion. After we have concluded, That this, or that will happen; nor this, nor that happens, but a third Event, which puts Foreſight in diſorder, and Conjecture to confuſion.

The defect is in the Matter, not in the Undertaker. The Act may be well underſtood, and the Deſign well laid; but the Inſtruments may be to blame, the Marble and the Copper may be corrupted. Beſides, a thouſand accidents, I know not what, may come

come no man know from whence: There may come misfortunes from Heaven above, and from below the Earth; A Thunder-clap may ruine the materials, a ſubterranean Wind may make your work flie in the air. And if you will believe an antient Poet, *The Gods will ſometime recreate themſelves; they make it their pleaſure and their paſtime to ſport with the Thoughts of Men.*

Good and Ill Policie are equally ſubject to theſe latter inconveniences; nor can we aſſure ourſelves of any thing againſt Heaven: Bnt without the Heavens intermedling, the Policie we ſpeak of forbears not to be unhappy. In building them, it ſees the falls and ruines of its works; or rather it ſees only the Maps and the Projects, becauſe it rather deſigns then builds. It figures Buſineſs and Undertakings, as formerly Republicks and Princes have been fancied, which had only a being in the Mind, and could never be but by Miracle. In effect, what are theſe Affairs and theſe Enterpriſes but bold and magnifick Dreams, which flatter the Imaginative part, and unprofitably amuſe Reaſon? What are they but admirable Tales, and impoſſible Hiſtories?

After this manner the Speculatives compoſe Romances in their Counſels, and form Propoſitions ſomewhat like thoſe of that Artiſt who was ſo famous in the Hiſtory of *Alexander:* You know he found *Coloſſuſes* which were little, and *Pyramides* which

were low. He would have made a Statue, which in one of its hands ſhould have borne a City, and pour a River out of the other.

Theſe men alſo dote magnificently, and their thoughts are no leſs vaſt nor leſs irregular. There is no proportion of that Greatneſs which they conceive, to the Meanneſs of what is feaſible. Matters are not capable of their forms; and their Peeces cannot be acted, becauſe they cannot be fitted for the Theater; there needs too many Engines and too many Machines; there are no Actors in all *Europe* to act ſuch Parts: The repreſentation of them would be difficult to a King of *Perſia*, and yet for ſuch they choſe the Prince of *Miranda*.

Do not fancie, my Lord, that I intend to laugh. The firſt journey I made into *Italy*, I met with one of theſe gallant Spirits, who propoſed the Conqueſt of *Greece*, and was but little more powerful then he whom I but now mentioned. But Your Highneſs may obſerve, if you pleaſe, by the way, That this brave Man's Father was a *Neapolitan*, and his Mother of *Florence*, and that they had taken care he ſhould be bred at the Court of *Rome*. It's true, they choſe a means very proportionable to the end, and they did raiſe a great Enemy againſt the *Great Turk*: Muſt he not have been confident of a great many Miracles, to have thought to have done any thing with ſuch ſmall Forces?

Yet

Yet muſt I in his favor confeſs the truth; I never met with ſo fruitful, nor ſo hot a Fancy as his; There never was ſo quick a diſcourſe, which ran over more, or which with more difficulty could return to its ſource. But this fertility and this capacity did nothing but furniſh matter to his Extravagancie, and give but the more ſcope to his fond thoughts: The farther his Reaſon went, the farther it ſtragled from his end.

After a long Conference I had with him, I knew that the great Deſign, which he call'd *The Intereſt of God, and the Buſineſs of the Virgin Mary*; which he was going about to ſollicite in the Court of Princes; had no other foundation but the deſire of an Intelligence with the *Coſſacques*, the hope of ſome Revolt in ſome place or other, the word of a Greek Hermit, and the Viſion of a Melancholy perſon. Yet was he, as I at firſt told you, a very good Wit; There was a great deal of pleaſure to hear him: And out of *Conſtantinople* and *Greece*, about which his extravagancie rowl'd, he forbore not in other matters to be wiſe enough. I have heard him deliver Oracles, and ſpeak things which methought were Revelations; ſo far did I find them beyond the common reach of a humane ſpirit. He err'd only in ſubtility; he had too much of that which lifts up and moves, and too little of that which ſettles and

fixeth it self. His very Reason was agitated; He dictated Dispatches at dinner; He slept with his eyes open: And I shall tell you, my Lord, from one of his Domesticks who is yet living, and who commonly lay in my chamber, That from his open eyes there commonly issued such frightful rays, that he was often frighted with them, and was never well accustomed to them.

To a Man of this Temper, the same advice to govern himself well might be given, as was to one for his health. One must tell him, if he would give the World leave to speak; "Thicken your blood a little, temper your Fire with your Plegme: Make not use of all your Reason; Be not altogether Intelligence, and all Light: Make your self a Beast sometimes; that is to say, stop at the neareſt object; and enjoy this day, without tormenting your self too much about to morrow. Suffer not your mind to be overcharg'd with this infinite Foresight, which seeks out evils as far the ends of the Earth, and even to the last of Posterity; which throws it self so far into the future, that it forgets the present, and forsakes those things which are, for those which may be.

Did you never hear speak of the Soul of that Philosopher, which commonly went out of his Body to run races and to take journies? Once when this wandring Soul would have return'd as it was wont to do,

it

it found no more a Body in condition to receive it, his having been aſſaſſinated during that interval of time it was away. If *Greece* be not a lyar, this poor Philoſopher meditated longer then he ought to have done, and his Meditation coſt him his life.

But this is the moral ſenſe of the Fable; which tells us, that if we will live, we muſt not altogether unlink our ſelves from our bodies, nor ſeparate our ſelves from matter. Our Reaſon muſt not eſtrange us from our own preſent intereſt, and from the buſineſs in agitation: It muſt not think to flie at all, and carry all before it; Nor fancie to beat the *Turk* with words, or conquer the World with ſubtilities.

In ſome occaſions let's take a Septentrional ſoul, mixt of more earth then fire; and let's quit this Oriental ſpirit, whoſe fire is ſo ſubtile, that it rather ſeems an illuſion then a truth. Let's miſtruſt the Eloquence of *Athens*, and the Wiſdom of *Florence*; ſince this hath been nothing profitable to thoſe who practiſed it, and her Doctors are become ſlaves for teaching it. I ſhall go yet further: What beyond the Mountains is call'd *The French Fury*, hath more then once profitably ſucceeded; I do not ſay in the Field and in War; I ſay at *Rome*, I ſay in the Conclave, which is the great Buſineſs of *Rome*, which is the Camp of Policie, which is the Theatre of Prudence.

But here is wherewith very much to aſtoniſh

aſtoniſh the perpetual ſubtility and the endleſs Ratiocinations which our Diſtillers of *Tacitus* his Maxims make. Here are four words (without more ado) in oppoſition to all the babble of that inſolent Policie, which in deſpight of Deſtiny, even to the excluſion of *Jupiter*, would preſide over the Government of humane things.

Prudence it ſelf counſels us, that we ſhould not always take its Counſels: ſhe advertiſeth us, that ſhe meddles not with the regulating of extremities, nor with the conduct of Deſpair: ſhe in ſome encounters diſpenſeth us from thoſe things, which in others ſhe ordered us. Without offending her, we may croſs the fields when there is danger on the right and left, and try whether an exceſs may not cure us, when other remedies have ill operated; and caſt our ſelves into the arms of an Enemy, when ſhe is no longer able to defend us.

Thus, as you ſee, with the conſent of Prudence, one may be Imprudent. And to this purpoſe it will not be unhandſom for me to tell Your Highneſs, what one day happen'd to me as I was in Treaty with a French Lord, who till then had been extremely happy, and yet with ſome reluctancie had taken party in an Occaſion wherein it was neceſſary to hazard ſomewhat. Being urg'd to conclude and reſolve, *Yes*, ſaid he; *but if I do it, I ſhall yield much to Fortune.* I could not avoid anſwering him

him, *You owe as much (Sir) to Fortune, you have receiv'd as much from her: You cannot therefore give her much, you can only return her ſomwhat.*

And indeed, as Fortune commonly goes where ſhe uſeth to go, and will not loſe her firſt benefits; ſo ſhe will alſo have thoſe ſhe favors confide in her, ſhe will have them make ſome advance, and not demand a reaſon of her for all ſhe doth. A man muſt not always be ſo regular and ſo methodical; A man muſt be bold, to be happy: But it is not properly thoſe whom we ſpeak of to day, who want courage and boldneſs. We may look on thoſe wiſe timerous perſons in our next Conference, wherein I ſhall endeavor out of my memory to deſign their Picture; Your Highneſs hath ſo ordered me to do, ſince you oblig'd me abſolutely to remember all what I moſt willingly would have forgot.

THE

# THE FIFTH DISCOURSE.

THE Court hath been govern'd by another kind of Men; and there are ſtill ſome of them to this day. The People call them Wiſe men: And in effect they want neither Senſe nor Experience; They know the Nature of Affairs, and the Poſſibility of every thing. But commonly their Knowledge remains hid in their mind, and produceth but a vain and idle Contemplation, which is fertile only in barren thoughts. It's a Vertue which finiſheth in itſelf; It's a Power which is never reduc'd into Act: whether it be that they feel themſelves not ſtrong enough to undertake the good which they ſee, and that their eyes are better then their hearts; or whether their advantage being more certain in the preſent, they prefer it before a good which is not yet.

Howſoever it be, They adviſe themſelves, rather then counſel their Maſter; They anſwer his ſentiments, and not his demands:

And

And if they fear the rigor of the Times, or the incommodity of the Ways, they would decline propoſing him a journey in *January*, or perſwading him to paſs the *Alps*, if their buſineſs lay at *Paris*. Their advice iſſues all from the inferior part; they are all terreſtrial and material: Intereſt always carries it with them beyond Honor or Reaſon. Being ſenſible of no more powerful temptation in their ſouls then that of Gain, they ground their opinions on the ſame baſeneſs and on the ſame conſiderations that a Farmer or a Receiver would do, were he but ſeated in the ſame place.

Let the Ship which carries them periſh, if it will, and let the Publick run the hazard; They eaſily comfort themſelves for the ſhipwrack of the State, ſo as there be but a Skiff in which they may but gain the ſhore and ſecure their own family. We ſhould very much deceive our ſelves, if we took them for thoſe violent Zealots, *who would be Anathema's for their Brethren*, and who earneſtly deſire *to be blotted out of the Book of life*, ſo as thoſe of their own Nation were pardon'd.

Yet a man cannot abſolutely ſay, that they have ill deſigns againſt the State, and that they deſire its ruine: They reſerve only to themſelves their firſt and moſt tender affections: Excepting their own Intereſt, I believe their Maſters would be very dear unto them. But the miſchief is, that they are

are never without their Intereſt, no more then from themſelves; They find it where-ſoever they caſt their eyes: Their particular Profit preſents it ſelf every where, as his own ſhape did to that Antient ſick perſon, who perpetually had it before him. They cannot divide themſelves from Buſineſs, to look on it with the leaſt freedom of Judgment: They cannot extract out of their ſoul their Reaſon ſimple and pure, without mixing it with their paſſions. So that although they diſcover a Conſpiracie which is hatching, yet they oppoſe it not, for fear of offending the Conſpirators, and to leave their Children ſuch powerful Enemies. They have not courage enough to utter a bold Truth, if it be never ſo little dangerous in reſpect of the eſtabliſhment of their fortune, although moſt important to their Maſters ſervice.

A wretched and miſerable Prudence! They conſider not, that a Spy who gives advice, is not more miſchievous then a Sentinel who ſays nothing; And that they are as well the cauſe of the Princes loſs by their ſilence, as the others by their treachery. They conſider not, that leaving him to that danger whence they could withdraw him, they do no leſs contribute to his ruine then thoſe who drive and precipitate him into it. They perceive not, that Infidelity doth no hurt, which Weakneſs is not as capable to perform.

This

This being ſo, my Lord, Is it not of them the Spirit of God would ſpeak in *chap.*22. of the *Revelation*, when it placeth the *Timerous* in the number of Poiſoners and Aſſaſſinates,and other execrable men,when it condemns them all to the ſecond death, to that death which is ſo ſtrange and terrible, to that *lake burning with fire and brimſtone?*

I know not the true intention of the Holy Ghoſt, and will not aſſure you that they are compriſed under that rigorous ſentence: But yet I very well perceive, that they are the laſt and the worſt of all Cowards; and that it is not ſo ſhameful to flie in a Battel, as to give a timerous Counſel. For at the leaſt, if we fall into misfortune in war, a man may excuſe himſelf either from the diſadvantage of the Place, or from the number of the Enemies, or lay the fault on his own Men; and as Duſt, the Wind and the Sun merit the glories of the Victorious, ſo alſo are they guilty of the loſs of the Vanquiſh'd. At worſt, a man juſtifies himſelf by accuſing Fortune, which in all Ages hath been eſteemed the Miſtreſs of Event, and the Soveraign Arbiter of Battells.

It is not ſo with Politick Aſſemblies, whereinto this blind Power is not admited; where the Mind acts freely and without conſtraint; where Prudence quietly exerciſeth its operations, and finds none of thoſe

those obstacles and impediments which oppose themselves to the effects of valor. For which cause, all the excuses of Soldiers and of Captains have no place amongst Counsellors and Ministers. A wise man cannot warrant success; but he ought to answer for his Intentions and for his Advice.

There's therefore no baseness like to that which begins at our Chamber, and removes not simply by the approaches and presence of Danger, but which cannot endure the onely imagination of it, but which shakes at the least mention made of it. And to speak truth, It must needs proceed from the entire annihilation of that liberty which is born with Man, and from the last corruption of that Principle of Generosity, and of that sense of Honor which we all have; since it's the cause we even deny to own or to consent to the Truth, seeing in that condition a Man is not so much as capable of the proposition of a difficult Good. There is no way left to obtain so much from them, as to set a good face on it, even in a place of security, to do so much as declare themselves, without danger, for the good of their Country; to dispute their Rights in a chair, and serve but for its tongue. A strange thing! They would rather accept of Servitude, under the title of Peace, then to resolve on a Defence which were to be effected with the arms and the blood of other Men.

We may also observe some Men, who expect

pect till ill Fortune be arriv'd, that they may be aſtoniſh'd at it: They have a bold ſpirit, although they have a timorous ſoul. Theſe Men ſpeak high, when there is Time and Ground enough betwixt them and the Danger. *Cicero* was after this manner courageous: Never did the leaſt word eſcape him, which was not worthy of the Greatneſs of the Commonwealth. He at leaſt was valiant in the Senate; and he, methinks, proteſts in ſome of his Letters, *That had he been invited to the Feaſt of the Ides of March, he ſhould have had nothing left.*

Such a Citizen is not fit to fight a Duel; He would not willingly in his doublet engage himſelf amongſt Musket-ſhot. He takes more care then other Men for the preſervation of his life, becauſe he eſteems it worth more then theirs, and that it's nothing unhandſom to fear the loſs of a thing ſo precious. He fears Death, or, to ſpeak more civilly, Nature fears it in him; but he fears neither Envy nor Hatred; but he equally deſpiſeth the threats of Great men, and the murmure of the People. If his Forces are not ſufficient to throw down Tyranny, he makes uſe of his voice and of his breath to ſtir up others to the recovery of their liberty: He at leaſt calls Men to Arms as loud as he can, and contradicts Ill, if he cannot reſiſt it. All his opinions flie high for the Greatneſs and Glory of his Maſter. He profeſſeth

feſſeth enmity with all the enemies of the State: Diſgrace and Poverty are nothing grievous, when he ſuffers them for a good cauſe; And Death it ſelf, if it ſurprize him not, and gives him but time to conſider it well, he at laſt reſolves to receive it like an honeſt man, and puts on valor out of neceſſity: By a long and ſerious meditation he forms to himſelf an acquired Courage which is no leſs ſtaid then the natural.

Our Prudent perſons arrive not at this height. Beſides Death, they admit of ſo many other kinds of extremity, that they ſtill meet with ſome one or other which ſtops them the very firſt ſtep they make towards Good. They deſpair, before they ought ſo much as to be afraid: They have always very great motives and very ſtrong conſiderations, very important cauſes, (theſe are the terms which they uſe) that thereby they may avoid the performance of their duty. And becauſe there is no Maxim in Policie, which is not combated by another Maxim as certain and as probable as that, and that the Future hath as many ſhapes and faces as our imagination can fancie; They turn it about to look upon it only on that ſide which terrifies them, and ſo with Reaſon defend themſelves againſt Reaſon. They always conſider, that the actions of men are expoſed to many inconveniences; and never conſider, that all the ill which may happen, happens not:

whether

whether it be that God by his grace diverts it, or that we by our addreſs ſhun it, or whether the imprudence of the contrary party breaks the blow; it being moſt certain, that our faults often caſt us into dangers, from whence thoſe of our Enemies withdraw us. But they taking things at worſt, and preſuppoſing as certain all doubtful accidents, they regulate their deliberations as if they neceſſarily were all to happen, and commonly act not at all, becauſe they fain would act but too ſecurely. Or perhaps they do not dive ſo deep into buſineſs; and very ſeldom it is they bring them to the laſt point: They content themſelves with a light mediocrity of ſucceſs, and with the beginnings of good hap; they dare not promiſe themſelves the continuation of them to the end in the leaſt thing: So that with this their cold and heavy wiſdom they may defer the fall, but they cannot eſcape it; they ſhore up the ruines which they are not able to relevate: They at moſt gain but ſome days, or weeks, and keep their affairs in hand till ſome who are more bold operate on them more efficaciouſly. It's an obſervation of *Ariſtotle*, That as the vivacity of *Alcibiades* his mind became extravagant towards his children, the ſolidity of *Phocion's* chang'd into matter of weight when it deſcended from him to his race. But let's ſay more then *Ariſtotle*; That the wiſdom of theſe Miniſters is not ſo long a time in degenerating into

into weakneſs, into languors, and into cowardiſe. Before it paſs thus corrupted to their children and to their poſterity, it ſpoils itſelf from its very iſſuing out of the ſoul, and before ever it come to action. It appears weak in their Propoſitions and in their Counſels, which can be call'd neither prudent nor wiſe, without ſpeaking improperly, without doing an injury to ſuch fair Names, without offence to true Wiſdom.

What an error it is! As if Wiſdom could never be couragious; That it muſt always fear, and always tremble. Theſe new Wiſe men are acquainted with the Wiſe men of Antiquity: They have read *Ariſtotle* as well as we, and yet have not profited by that old Oracle which *Ariſtotle* reports; THAT A MAN MUST CALL DANGER TO THE RELIEF OF DANGER, AND SAVE HIMSELF FROM ONE EVIL BY ANOTHER EVIL.

How deplorable ſoever the condition of the preſent is, they cannot reſolve themſelves for Novelty or Change: They would rather ſuffer Change then make, and expect it, then prevent it. In ſtead of obeying the Oracle, and tempting a ſecond Danger, they accuſtom and make themſelves familiar with the firſt: In ſtead of doing an endeavor to withdraw themſelves from an evil courſe which they are fallen into, they

ſeek

ſeek a ſupportable poſture to abide in. They are engag'd in Evil ſo, as the Evil preſſeth them not, and ſo as they recoil to the laſt extremity: It's ſufficient for them, ſo as Death be remitted to another time, and that they in the mean time may enjoy only the intervals of an ill life. Doubtleſs they would be of the opinion of a Spaniſh Poet, who ſaid, *That a Quartan Ague was a good thing, becauſe a man was ſecure to live a year with it, at leaſt to live ſix moneths, at leaſt from a ſudden death.*

What they do therefore, is not to reign, is not to conquer, is not to triumph; It's only to live, and that alſo after a ſtrange manner: It's to ſpend the time from morning till after-noon, and ſo to draw on till the next day. Their Government is neither Peace, nor War, nor a Truce: It's a Reſt of Idleneſs; it's a dead ſleep which by artifice they procure the People, which is neither good nor natural.

They know not how to cure, but only how to paint the ſick and make them look well. They would reclaim Rebellion by Careſſes; they glut it with benefits and with gratifications: But they thereby render it more powerful, and nothing the better; They increaſe it's force, nor do they diminiſh its malice: They ſometimes take from it ſome Men which are to be ſold, and ſuch Advantages as ſerve to no purpoſe; and they perceive not that it is to cultivate Diſorder,

diſorder thus lightly to touch its branches and its buds, and not to put the iron to the body and to the root.

All their Experience is but the Hiſtory of Misfortunes, which happen'd to thoſe who durſt, and did undertake. All what is not eaſie, they call impoſſible; and fear magnifying objects, and almoſt infinitely multiplying every individual, when three Malcontents retire themſelvs from Court with their Train, they fancy an Army of Enemies in the field, which draws along with it Towns and Communalties without reſiſtance: And afterwards they do not put themſelves in poſture to chaſtiſe them, but they ſeek to ſweeten them; and in ſtead of viſiting them with Canons and Soldiers, they ſend them Gown-men, employed with Offers and Commiſſions, and promiſe them far more then they could hope for by the Victory.

Thus they oblige a Prince to deſcend from his throne to treat with his Subjects; They make a Soveraign a Private perſon, and a Legiſlator an Advocate. By this breach they break that diſtance which ſeparates him from the People, and change Power into Equality: The Guilty aſcend the Tribunal, and deliberate concerning their own fact with the Judge; they name the place of the Conference, and it's accepted; they chooſe for this Parley ſuch perſons as they moſt confide in, and they are granted them: And they there ſpeak neither of

Grace

Grace nor of Pardon; these terms would be of too harsh sound and would offend their ears. But the offended Master solemnly declares, That all was done for the good of his service, and thinks himself beholding to those unfaithful servants for the injuries they have done him.

To conclude, the Design of these men being onely to license the Company, and to divide the Allyes: they grant them more then they demand; they are prodigal of the Publick Faith; they husband not the Kings name; and after this manner they bring him to the brink of two extremities equally dangerous: For whether it be, that he will keep his word by the ruine of his Affairs, or whether he will establish his Affairs by the violation of his word, he is still reduced to a most deplorable condition, either to hazard his State by being faithful, or to forfeit his Honor that he may continue King.

But if before all this, whilst things being still whole, he desires to take a generous resolution, and worthy of himself, if he will no longer have his bounty a rent and a certain revenew to Rebels; if he be wearied to see his Coffers exhausted to pay his Enemies Armies, and every day to purchase what he never gets; then do these able Counsellors represent unto him with several gestures and grimaces that he must not sharpen business; That wise men yeild to the violence of times, as the gods do to the necessity of

Fate: That Princes which reigned before him never durſt ſtir that ſtone: That it were preſumption to think to do better then our Fathers have done; That War is an ill means to reform a State; That to pluck a body in pieces to make it new again, is the remedy of a Magician; That to burn a houſe to make it clean, is the advice of an Enemy, and the reſolution of a furious perſon.

Neither is this all, They in purſuit produce great Common-Places in praiſe of Peace and Repoſe; they employ all the skill of the Rhetorician to exaggerate the miſeries of War; They forget not the profanation of Temples, nor the violation of Divine and Humane Laws, to make their own Cowardize reliſh in his mind, under ſpecious terms; and to perſwade him that they have Reaſon, they never confeſs they are affraid. They live thus near the Prince, and maintain themſelves betwixt him and the Rebels by the that common neceſſity which there is of their Mediation to manage this filthy Trade, and to preſerve two Parties in a State, that ſo the one may not deſtroy the other.

They are alſo moſt commonly a friend to ſtrangers: What need we diſſemble, they far more apprehend to render their Neighbor ungrateful to the King, then to diſſerve the King their Maſter, ſo that during their Miniſtery, no man muſt ſpeak of protecting the

the weak againſt the oppreſſion of the ſtrong, of awaking pretenſions which are aſleep, of undertaking any thing out of the Kingdom; what Juſtice, what Fitneſs, what Facility ſo ever ſeems to perſwade ſuch an Enterprize; They condemn the memory of *Charls* the Eighth, and curſe the Voyages of Italy; They even deride thoſe of the Holy Land, till even they offend the piety of former Ages; not fearing to repeat after an impious fellow engaged in the latter, *That they were the Feavors of thoſe times, and Popular diſeaſes*; That they were from the youthfulneſs of our Princes, and from the heat of Liver in our Counſellors. One of them maintained, That *Alexander* had never been; That his Hiſtory was but a Romance, that that of *Amadis* was not more fabulous, nor more unlikely.

If their ſoft counſels do not always prevail over their Maſters Vigor and good inclinations; if ſome ſenſible injury which cannot be diſſembled oblige the State to a publick reſentment; then when they cannot blame the thing in its principle, they decry it with all their power in its conſequences and effects; And as if the Victory were not worth the charge of the War, upon the taking of a Town from the Enemy, they ſay, *That it's to loſe to gain, after that manner; ſo many honeſt men ſacrificed to the vanity of one* (this one perhaps, *is a Prince of the Blood, or a Son of* France) *ſo many millions tranſported*

*out of the Kingdom for the gaining of a paltry place; the expence of the Artillery alone would perfect our ruine, did we make but such another Conqueſt.*

Such kind of Miniſters would not have pleaſed themſelves at *Carthage* with the Victories of *Hannibal* in *Italy*; They cried out in Council upon the arrival of good news, when they poured forth buſhels full of thoſe Roman Knights Rings who had been killed in the War; *Let him keep his iron Rings, and his paper Trophies, and ſend us back our Men and our money; the Affairs of the Republick were never either more flouriſhing or more ruinous; It never had more reputation abroad, nor more miſery within its own bowels.*

Such Miniſters have cauſed the end of two Empires, and have loſt *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, by the fatal faintneſs of their Counſels; They have opened the door to all the Barbarians, They have ſhamefully purchaſed peace either from the *Goths* or *Vandals*, or other Northern people, whence all the ill in the world comes: They made no account of the diſhonour of the Empire, and the infamy of the Roman Name: So as by the ſweetneſs of the word, they might correct the bitterneſs of the thing; and ſo when they paid Tribute to their Enemies, they might be ſuffered to ſay that they gave a Penſion to their Allyes; They minded not the fortune of the future, nor what would become

become of Poſterity, ſo as they might but live as long as the State which they governed could laſt.

Yet let us once more pardon them, and not accuſe them of Treaſon. I believe they would not ſell and deliver up their Maſter; but they are not angry that the world ſhould know that they can do it; upon ſome occaſions they make no difficulty of ſetting a price on him; they ſuffer him to be trafficked for: They even afford Merchants ſome Patterns, although they will not part with the whole Piece. It's one of their Maxims, THAT ONE MAY SOMETIMES DECEIVE THE PRINCE FOR HIS OWN GOOD. And when they hold intelligence with the Miniſters of other Princes, they call that *To labor for the general good of Chriſtendom, and to maintain Peace betwixt the Crowns.*

In our Fathers days it was believed, that *Barbaroſſa* and *Andreas Doria* did not miſunderſtand one another; yet cannot any man therefore ſay, but that the one was a good ſervant to *Soliman*, and the other to *Charls*; But they had need of one the other to make their ſervices valued by their Maſters, and to keep the place they held: The Turk commended the Chriſtian, and ſpoke of him as of the onely man who troubled him: The Chriſtian rendred the like to the Turk, in terms altogether as obliging, and as advantagious. And a ſlave of *Algier* upon

on this ſubject ſpake very pleaſantly to a Viceroy of *Sicilia*, *That a Raven never pick-ed out the eyes of another bird of his own kind; And that if* Doria *were ruined*, Barbaroſſa *would have little credit at the Port of the Grand Signor; as alſo*, Doria *would deſcend more then one ſtep lower in the Emperors Court by the ruine of* Barbaroſſa.

They helped and favored one another therefore reciprocally, for the continuation of the War which was their Trade and their Buſineſs: And ſince ambitious men, who conſequently love honor, were capable of ſuch a kind of traffick, I leave you to imagine, if men loving onely their own intereſt, and knowing nothing elſe that's honeſt and profitable would not be glad to preſerve their Authority by ſuch a Commerce; would they not, do you think, render themſelves neceſſary, that they might continue? would they not for Peace, which would be a golden Harveſt to them, and a Harveſt which never fails; do what others did for War, whoſe Vintage is ſo uncertain, and whoſe fruits are ſo ſharp and bitter?

THeſe are the proceedings of our Wiſemen in the Adminiſtration of the State, and in the high Region of the Miniſtry; but when they go lower, and that their duty is more eaſie, they therein acquit themſelves no better of what they ought. The affairs of particulars who depend on them, take the ſame

courſe

courſe with the publick. In ſure and eaſie occaſions, wherein they might at an eaſie rate ſhew their ſtrength, they cannot chuſe but make their natural weakneſs appear; they would not loſe the friendſhip of thoſe whoſe goods they have raviſhed; and at one and the ſame time, they fear and offend the ſame perſons; they entertain all the world with general anſwers, and ſuch as preciſely do not oblige. A man never goes unſatisfied away from them, they never brave nor reject any man; they afford a man nothing but fair words and fair hopes.

To him who demands Juſtice, they return Civilities and Complements; they preſent him who hath need of bread with Roſes and Violents; after having held a man a whole year in length, promiſing you all ſatisfaction from day to day, at laſt when you preſs them to a concluſion, they deſire you to tell them, and thereby make it appear, that as often as you ſpoke unto them, they never intended to hearken unto you.

A Pretender in the Court of *Rome*, having treated them after this manner, and returning home, as he went, met with a Gallows at his going out of *Bologne* (where the Court of *Rome* then was) and having a while ſtaid before the Gallows to look on a man who had been newly hanged, there, they ſay he cried out all at once with a loud voyce, HOW HAPPY DO I ESTEEM THEE MY FRIEND TO HAVE NOTHING TO

DO IN THE PLACE WHENCE I COME? You see whom, for their sakes men of business envy, and whereto they oblige men to go seek felicity; and indeed Death for Death, and one Hangman for another; a sudden Death, and a ready Hangman, were yet better then all this.

Thus do they tire the patience of Solicitors, thus they revenge the importunity of Supplicants, nor do they make themselves angry to make them despair: Wherein to speak the truth, their proceeding hath I know not what that's rare and worthy of consideration; Nothing can be imagined more sweet and more calme then their Malice; their poison is composed of as much Sugar as Arsenick, and the equality of their humor is like to the calme of that River, where the lighter bodies go to the bottom without so much as the appearance of one cloud in the air, nor one breath of wind which moves them.

A man of this make is a learned Artisan of calumnies; he never wants playster nor colours; he can admirably well prepare and polish an ill turn; he blames with Elogies and not with Invectives; in appearance he bears testimony of some great Desert, and in effect he breeds suspitions of any mans great Reputation. You would say that he grieves for those he accuseth, and pities those he intends to ruine; Rhetorick teacheth us grosly to speak ill, he hath found out a way far more

more quaint to do the ſame thing; this is called, to ſtrike without liſting up ones arme; it's to hurt without drawing blood, or the appearance of a blow. He diſguiſeth himſelf in a friend to hate one with the more ſecurity; and that he might be thought charitable at the ſame inſtant that he aſſaſſinates, he kills no body, till he hath firſt made his funeral Oration.

"He tells the Prince, the eyes of all men "are turned towards him; the Souldiers "call him their Father, and the People "think he is their interceſſor towards your "Majeſty; it's in his power alone to prevail "with this univerſal favor, and the poſſeſſi-"on of ſo many hearts, to form a party "which may carry his name; yet I believe "he would not fail in his duty, and that all "his are good intentions. The Aſtrologers "and the Poets promiſe him a Kingdom; "but beſides that, they are people who ne-"ver keep promiſe, its perhaps a Kingdom "beyond Sea; perhaps he muſt travel to the "conqueſt of it to the fartheſt extremities of "the Earth; yet it's likely that he will con-"rent himſelf with the place which your "Majeſty hath given him about you; His "ambition will be more wiſe and more mo-"deſt then that of other ambitious perſons. "Perhaps Sir, his deſigns will reſpect his "Majeſties Crown, and the Laws of his "Country.

The Princes jealouſie being kindled by

theſe magnifick excuſes, and with this apparent ſweetneſs, mixt with this bitter raillery, Miſtruſt with eſteem enters his ſoul. But there is yet ſomething to be done; The work is happily begun, but he muſt not ſtay there; the diſſembling Courtier goes on: He adds, "That whatever may be ſaid, and "what Crime ſoever is alleadged he can ne-"ver reſolve to condemn a man who hath "ſerved him ſo well; that *Philip* and *Alexan-*"*der* muſt in ſuch a caſe conſult with himſelf, "and with the immortal gods; he muſt con-"ſider whether there be more danger for "him to diſpatch a deſerving ſervant, then "there is danger in declining it; You can-"not loſe him without a notable intereſt of "State; Yon cannot preſerve him without "the evident danger of your perſon: Look "Sir, which of the two is neareſt, your "State or your Perſon: Conſider whether "it's better always to miſtruſt that man, or "aſſure your ſelf of him by thoſe means "which are in your power. A Sovereign, "can he be in ſafety, whilſt there is a parti-"cular perſon who can corrupt the Senate, "desbauch the Legions, and make the Peo-"ple revolt?

Thus without making high exclamations, or employing violent figures, he perſwades a timerous Soul, and drives fear into cruelty. Thus cruelty ſeems ſweet, and appears officious and doing good. By poiſoned praiſes, and a thouſand times worſe then

dry

dry Slander, he adviſeth to death, ſtill in ſaying, that he will not adviſe; he diſchargeth himſelf from the envy of the Murther, by the byas which he uſeth in making his propoſition; he chargeth his Enemy whilſt he ſhuns the odious name of his Accuſer; When he hath perfected his deſtruction, giving him his laſt blow, he ſtill diſſembles his hatred, he ſtill feigns himſelf good and compaſſionate.

But withal, he is ſo much affraid leaſt he ſhould not dye, and leaſt the League ſhould prove the ſtronger, that after having caſt either *Philip* or *Alexander* into extreme reſolutions, he cauſeth another game to be plaid on the other ſide; he adverriſeth him whom he hath deſtined to ruine, "That he "hath no means left to ſerve him any lon-"ger in the Palace againſt an infinite many "ſecret enemies, who do him very ill Of-"fices; That for his part he knows no more "the preſent, and knows not what to think "of the future, ſeeing the Prince in ſuch "ſtrange humors, and ſo far eſtranged from "the firſt ſweetneſs of his Nature; That "he eſteems thoſe happy which are retired "to their own Homes, and who have quitted "the Court, where good men have loſt a "place, being onely now able to be wit-"neſſes of the violence of the wicked: That "himſelf is ready to take his leave, that at "leaſt he may not by his preſence ſeem to "approve the evil which he cannot hinder

"by

"by his counſels; and that neither his eyes "nor his ears ſhare in thoſe things which "are preparing.

THis is but a little ſhew of that great Trade of Juggling which is exerciſed at Court; and it's near upon what (beſides our *Tacitus*) a Manuſcript Hiſtory which we have ſeen would ſay by its *PESSIMUM INIMICORUM GENUS LAUDANTES*; It's the explanation or paraphraſe of a paſſage out of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, when he ſpeaks of the Court of the Emperor *Conſtantius*; and it ſhall be again if you pleaſe of thoſe two verſes in the Divine *Jeruſalem*, which the late King *Henry* the Great eſteemed ſo much and ſo worthy of Mounſieur. ***

*Gran Fabbro di calunnie, adorne in modi*
*Novi, che ſono accuſe, & paion lodi.*

It's particularly in the Country of theſe two Verſes where are excellent Cheats to be found: And I call to mind one of the principal Miniſters of the firſt Court of Chriſtendom, who paſt Maſter in this rare Science. As far off as ever he ſaw a man whom he newly came from doing an ill office unto, he cried aloud to him I HAVE SERVED YOU SIR: And with theſe Maxims of Deceit he a long time governed the World. He grew extremely old

old in refuſing and in granting nothing, in ſaying neither I nor no; in receiving both parties with the ſame ſerene countenance; Let him die then when he pleaſeth; this *Roman* ſo little worthy of old *Rome*, ſo far from the candor and ſincerity of the antient *Fabritius*, with truth it might be inſcribed over his Tomb, THAT HE DID LYE THREESCORE YEARS AND TEN, and that the Comedy he acted laſted all his life.

It's true, that we learn from ſome examples that formerly men lived happily enough under thoſe ſoft and languiſhing Governments, and that they have not always been fatal to their Countries: But we muſt take heed in Hiſtory whether the adminiſtration we commend, is not the conſequence of a better Reign, whether it be not the remaining heat of a fire which is no more, and the motion of a ſhake which is quiet: We muſt obſerve whether they are not the Fathers Vertues which uphold the Childrens Infirmities; and their Patrimony which furniſheth desbauches. For in effect, after a long continued order, Buſineſs moves almoſt of it ſelf, and Policy cannot ſo ſoon receive a turn, being ſtill ſenſible of that good impreſſion which ſome great Prince hath left behind him. Beſides, it's the nature of the things of this World to require time, and with trouble to paſs from one condition to another. So that if it hath hapned that the

theCommonwealth remain ſtable under ſuch weak, feeble and ill aſſured Powers, it was perhaps obliged for its repoſe to thoſe good and ſolid foundations which had long ſince been eſtabliſhed, although that above it nothing appeared but ſtraw and earth. It was not ſo much the fruit of the preſent Government, as the remains of the former happy conduct of Affairs.

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THE

# THE SIXTH DISCOURSE.

TO this ſcrupulous and miſtruſtful Wiſdom we may oppoſe a certain brutal Vertue, if it be lawful to call it ſo; but the better to make it known, and to define it by deſcribing it, might we not call it a paſſionate, untutor'd impetuous Probity, which rather follows the Fury of Nature, then the Diſcipline of Reaſon, and hath more Courage then Addreſs?

At firſt it ſeems to be Vigor, and it proves Rudeneſs; it might be taken for Force, and yet 'tis but Violence; wherein the Mind fixeth it ſelf, intending to ſtiffen it ſelf, and becomes immoveable, by meaning to be too ſtable: Now it imports a man very much to know how to turn and bend his Mind, according to the exigence of occaſions, and the variety of thoſe ſubjects which preſent themſelves. If we render it ſupple and manageable, if it be not capable of ſeveral forms; in a world, ſo changeable as this, its uſe which ought to be univerſal, and not

have

have any defined object, finds its bounds at the very beginning of his carreer; It stops at some encounters, which ought to be in its choyce, and extends it self but to a very small nnmber of things. And those things happening but very rarely, those Ministers on the other side, who are every day to be in action, they cannot with one onely Drug make all kind of operations, and with the same fire cool again, what they before heated.

I confess they have a good heart, and their intentions may be good; but they want both art and method for the conduct of these advantages of birth. They are made all of a piece; and if there be some overture of difficulty to be made, instead that they should stoop their heads, they must have the wall raised; They must constrain Time, Men, and Business to obey them, and to follow them: Thus never entring into another sence, being ever unable to shift place, acknowledging no other Reason but their own, they are not very fit to govern States, where it's necessary to take new advice upon the novelty of those accidents which happen, and where sometimes the Pylot may learn somewhat from the Passengers.

What an unhappy regularity it is to go out-right, and not to turn from a Gulf which is in the midst of the way; to go over shelves, to have the honor not to go aside; to reject a good resolution because another

proposed

propoſed it? Yet your generous Imprudents fall every hour into theſe Gulfs, and continually ruſh themſelves on thoſe ſhelves; being unable to arrive at the firſt glory of Vertue which is not to fail, they neglect the ſecond, which is to know how to amend ones faults; becauſe they cannot be Perfect, they will not be Penitent.

Whatſoever the cauſe be, good or ill, which they at firſt embrace, they hold on with a blind obſtinacy, wherewith they maintain it, and diſpute as violently for the leaſt of their Sentiments, as for the Religion of their Fathers; They would willingly be Martyrs for their own Opinions; they always continue a commenced evil, to ſhew that they undertake with Judgment what they do with Perſeverance.

If a Propoſition which they have advanced by way of diſcourſe, and which they do not believe to be true, comes to be conteſted, they from that very time, intereſs themſelves in its defence; afterwards they half perſwade themſelves to it; in purſuit of reaſoning, they hold it altogether aſſured, and quit it not till from a problematick queſtion, which it was at the beginning of the Conference, they have in concluſion made it a a point of Faith.

If they are deſired to conſider that the Enemies are powerful and numerous; They anſwer, They are a great many Men, but few Souldiers; That they are not true Enemies,

Enemies, but a mutinous Raſcality: If it be remonſtrated that a paſſage cannot be made for the Army by that place which they purpoſed, they labor and torment themſelves ſo much about it, that it ſeems as if they pretended to make it paſs there by the onely force of their words.

I do not here fancy things which are not; I do not create Artificial Men: I know ſome, My Lord, and I could name them to you, who act in Council after this manner, who will yield neither to evident Reaſon, nor to an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, nor to a received Practice.

They oppoſe the ſingularity of their Opinion to the conſent of People, and to a crowd of Examples. The Briefs and the Bulls of Popes, the Edicts and Declarations of Kings are for other men, they are not concerned; They break all publick Acts when they agree not with their particular ſence.

Have we not firſt ſeen in *Flanders*, and ſince in *Italy*, a Spaniſh Miniſter, who was of this humor; he could never reſolve to acknowledge for King of *France* the late K. *Henry* the Great; he could never call him otherwiſe then the *Bearnois*, or the Prince of *Bearne*, when he meant him a favor. The League was dead, and without hopes of ever reviving. The Peace of *Vervins* was publiſhed, and all its Articles executed; The King's Reconciliation had been ſolemnly made with the

the Holy See; The K. of *Spain* had ſent him Ambaſſadors, and had receiv'd his. Yet all this could not make the ſpirit of the Miniſter ſtoop; He would be more averſe to *France* then *Spain*, and more Catholick then the Church. His opiniaſtrecy excommunicated him whom the Pope had abſolved. And he ſtill remained on theſe terms till the year 1610. the very evening before when this *Bearnois* was ready to make himſelf Maſter of a conſiderable part of *Europe*, and who knows whether he would not have begun with the Dutchy of *Millan*, which this Miniſter was then Governor of, purpoſely to have made him change his note?

THoſe Wiſemen we yeſterday made the examen of, aſſure nothing at all, durſt not ſwear it were day at high noon, are not certain whether thoſe things which they ſee are objects or illuſions; when a man inquires their Sentiment, they always ſay I THINK, never I KNOW, and in buſineſſes which are moſt clear, a man can draw nothing from them but PERHAPS, IT MAY BE SO, and WE MUST CONSIDER, which proceeds according to *Ariſtotle* from an opinion they have conceived of the world, which is generally ill, and from appearances; So that they may be ſometimes deceived, but they are indeed ſeldom deceived. If they loſe it's becauſe they play but too well; It's themſelves

and

and their misfortune which they ought to complain of, and not of the advantages and wiles of their Enemies. They also first seek Safety and afterwards Profit; They govern themselves by a reasonable Discourse, which concludes with profit and certainty; Nor do they live according to moral Institution, which proposeth what's honest and hazzardous.

You may fancy quite the contrary of the others we now speak of, who express themselves in affirmative terms, who decide the most doubtful and the most imbroyled affairs with a THIS IS SO, it CANNOT BE OTHERWISE, THERE IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY THAT IT MUST HAPPEN SO; these commonly quit the greatest of their interests for the least of their Passions, they prefer praise to Presents, and thanks before Rewards; they promise themselves wonders from the future and from fortune; they make their doubts their suspitions, their hopes valid even to infinity.

Yet let us confess the truth to the advantage of the men of this day, they are far more worth then those of yesterday in *Aristotles* Judgment, Timerous persons are defective, for as much as they aspire not to those things the Magnanimous are worthy of, and for as much as they aspire not even to those of which themselves are worthy; But the Audacious are excessive onely in that they

they aſpire to thoſe things which the Magnanimous are, and not they worthy of. I ſpeak of Magnanimity as you may perceive with the rigor of Philoſophers, and not with a Poetical licence, who might well call this days Men Magnanimous, ſince they ſo call their Gyants, their Phaeton, and their Capaneus.

It's certain, that this Boldneſs and this Fierceneſs do not always diſpleaſe the world; In ſome encounters they have gained approbation and praiſe; They have been eſteemed and have ſucceeded in the perſon of that Roman, who ſeems ſo honeſt a Man to my Lord the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, and to Monſieur the Marſhal *Deſdiguieres*; your Highneſs is pleaſed that I ſhould remember you of the ſtile wherewith he wrote to the Emperor.

The fidelity of that Roman was without reproach, and yet he was accuſed in his abſence, and found an Informer againſt him at Court; He commanded an Army in Germany, and had great credit and authority in his Province, and among the Souldiery: Being advertiſed of what had paſt at *Rome*, and of the ill offices which were rendred him in the Pallace, he wrote a bold and proud Letter to the Emperor, the laſt words whereof were much like to theſe, "My Fi-
"delity hath been pure and intire hitherto,
"nor will I change it unleſs I am forced
"thereunto; but whoſoever comes to ſuc-
ceed

"ceed me in my command, I am reſolved to "receive him, as if he had enterprized a- "gainſt my life, LET US IF YOU "PLEASE CAESAR AGREE, "LET THE WHOLE EMPIRE "BE YOURS, AND MINE MY "GOVERNMENT.

Such men hardly hold intelligence with the Enemy, but they eaſily bandy againſt their Maſter; they are never Rebels out of a formed deſign, and out of a malitious inclination, but they may be made ſo by diſdain and reſentment; they want not Fidelity ſo long as they are truſted; Theſe do no diſſervice, but will ſerve after their own mode; They will be Arbiters both of their duty and of their obedience.

One of theſe perſons (whom you know my Lord) would prove unto me, it's not long ſince, that he ſerved his Maſter in diſobeying him; it was at an entertainment which laſted four hours betwixt us, when I gave him a viſit at his Government from your Highneſs. By a nice diſtinction which he made of the King and of the State, he told me, that very lately and upon an occaſion which was not yet paſt, *He had gone out-right to the good of the State without having hearkened to ſeveral different voyces, which would have ſtopped him by the way, alleadging to him the Kings name.* Whereto he added, grounding himſelf on a principle which he took ſomewhat high:

That

*That the King his first Master, Father to the King that now is, had commanded him before his death, that if such a time happened, and such an accident occur'd, he should not fail to do such a thing, what contrary order soever were brought him from Court to hinder him; That he thought he was obliged in Conscience to follow the intentions of the greatest and wisest Prince in the world, nor did he apprehend he could err by conforming himself to the sentiments of him who never committed faults.*

But I pray go on to verifie that secret command, which is yet come to the knowledge of no man, nor even to the Queen Dowager of the late King. To know of a truth of this, the charms of Magick must be imployed, the soul of the greatest and wisest Prince of the the Earth must be raised; of him who committed no faults; and it must be enquired whether that Minister who alleadgeth this, alleadge it not falsely. It's a raillery to think still to belong to *Philip* under the reign of *Alexander*; to endeavor to perswade ones Master that a man hath reason to disobey; That opiniastrecy hath merit; That it's sufficient to serve well, howsoever though against the will of him we serve.

Let such persons who thus will serve their own way, be always if it be possible two hundred leagues from Court. Let them be employed, if it may be so, in obscure places, where ill examples being not so much looked upon, are not so dangerous: But it would not

not be well to call them near the persons of a Prince, where respect is no less necessary then service, and where they would be his Tutors rather then his Counsellors.

These are excellent men I do not deny it, but this excellency under the power of another is not in its right place. They love the State and their Country, but they hate Dependence and Subjection; their end is right, but the means are oblique, and seem contrary to their end; For making the good of the Monarchy their object, they use all the licence which may be used in a popular Government. Further yet, In serving they will serve like Soveraigns; themselves have told me, in their entertainments of near four hours, *That they were too old to submit themselves to the first elements of their duty.* When smiling at what they told me, I went farther and told them, *They were too great to learn that lesson which a Doctor of the Court gave his Son in the Grecian history*, MY CHILDE, MAKE THY SELF LITTLE. Good Governors of Provinces, and good Guardians of the Frontier, good Porters of the Realm, so long as you please; But I grant not, that you are good Ministers of State, and good Courtiers after the same manner.

There are Affairs in which a man may take several parties, and some diversly byassed which offer themselves, of which we are to chuse that which is most proper to manage

manage it well. In ſuch buſineſſes they bring the ſame paſſion, and are born away with the ſame miſcarriages which we have already obſerved on the ſubject of News. A man can never ſee them out of one extremity or other. They would rather fall then deſcend; they deſire all or nothing; they ſeek Death or Victory: Yet methinks it's much to carry away three quarters, when one cannot obtain the whole; That betwixt Death and Victory there ſhould be Peace, which is a good of an ineſtimable value, which ought to be ſought for by the Vanquiſhed, and deſired by the Victorious.

But what is ſeemly with us, nothing perſwades them, nor have they an ear for our remonſtrances; there is no way to divert their imagination from its object, and to make them change their aim, they are enemies to all accommodation, and ſo bound to thoſe rules which they preſcribe themſelves, and to that rigor of exact Juſtice which exaſperates them, that it's impoſſible to render them capable of Equity. It's not poſſible to make them take a reward for a thing when it's loſt. They would have the ſame, and not the like; They combate the ſence of the Law with terms of Law, and injure themſelves by doing themſelves right; They make me remember thoſe Brothers ſo much celebrated in Hiſtory, who being equally to divide a Succeſſion, broke a glaſs to divide it, & cut a Suit in two, that each of them might have his half.

If these go not so far, and if this be to speak too much; Let's at least say, that in business they know not of how great use these temperaments are, and how profitably be employed for the perfection of Affairs, by joyning things at a distance, and by facilitating those which are difficult. They understand not these Relaxations, these Adjustments, as they speak now in *Italy*. This necessary mean which seems often to come from Heaven, and which is needful to conclude bargains with particular persons, and with far more reason Treaties of Peace betwixt Princes, Leagues Offensive and Defensive, Negotiations, wherein the safety of People are concerned, and the fortune of Kingdoms.

Our sullen vertuous persons will not admit of these Tempers, nor of this Mean: In a State which dies of old age, they would do the same as if they governed in a newly established Commonwealth in the purity of its institution, and in the vigor of its first Orders. They speak of nothing but of an absolute Power, but of the Autority of the Senate, but of the force of the Laws, although they are things which grow old as well as other things, and which growing old grow weak.

Hearken unto *Cato*'s opinion in *Cæsars* cause, "He says we must load him with "chains (he doth not say, we must first seise "upon him) we must send him in that condi-

tion

" tion to our Alleys whom he hath offended,
" that they may do themselves right, and
" that he may be punished for his unjust
" Victories. These MUSTS are very dif-
" ficult to be put in execution, if Favor over-
" power Reason; we must, continues he, have
" him come and plead his own cause in per-
" son, and give us an account of his nine
" years Command; All must be done accor-
" ding to Law, that's to say, according to
" my intrpretation, we must hazard all the
" Laws to observe Formalities.

I perswade my self Your Highness thinks this austere Commonwealths-man to blame, although never man was more praised then he; *Cicero* was not only his particular friend, he was his publick Admirer; after his death, he did somewhat more then make his Funeral Oration; and what he did, made way for *Cæsars* two *Anti Cato's*: Yet *Cicero* speaking confidently to *Pomponius Atticus* confesseth, that the vertue of that man whom he so much admired was unprofitable for his Country. He confesseth that that Divine man, for so he called him, was out of use, and knew not how to accommodate himself to the condition of those times; That when he gave his opinion in Council, *He thought he had been in* Plato's *Republick, and not among the Lees of* Romulus *his People*

This word of *Cicero* explains a Verse of *Virgil*, which your Scholasticks take no notice of, yet it deserves the reflections of a

Courtier. In the deſcription of his Hero's Buckler, wherein divers figures were engraven, when he would have repreſented that part of Hell which is inhabited by ſacred Souls, he makes *Cato* to precide with a Soveraign Authority, and gives him a Juriſdiction over Juſt and Happy People.

*Secretoſque Pios, his dantem jura Catonem.*

And as a Poet who is a friend of ours hath tranſlated it,

*Aux Juſtes aſſemblez Caton donne des Loix.*

And thus in Engliſh.

*The bleſt withdrawn, where Cato gives the Laws.*

To take the thing according to the letter was to offend the Family of the *Cæſars*; nor could their Enemy be beatified, but that their Cauſe muſt be condemned. But in my opinion *Virgil* and the *Cæſars* herein underſtood one the other; doubtleſs he had diſcovered to *Auguſtus* the ſecret of his fiction, which in appearance praiſeth, and which in effect mocks him; which ſhews us that *Cato's* vertue was of the other world and not of this: *Virgil* would quaintly, and in a figured manner expreſs, that *Cato* was to go ſeek Citizens which were all good and vertuous.

That

That he muſt make himſelf an expreſs People to be worthy of him; That *Cato* could not find a place, unleſs in a Society which was not to be found on earth.

There in effect it is, where the *Cato's* muſt go to practice their Paradoxes, and vent their generous Maxims; we do not live here in that Country; we live not in the Country of Idea's and of Perfection, where Souls are diſcharged of their Bodies, are cured of their Paſſions, are purged from the reſt of their humane Infirmities. Who ever ſay a Republick compoſed of Philoſphers, much leſs of Stoicks only? It's long ſince the World hath loſt its innocency; we are in the corruption of Ages, & in Natures declenſion. All is weak, all is ſick in the Aſſemblies of Men; if therefore you would govern happily, if with ſucceſs you would labor for the good of the State, accommodate your ſelf with the defects and imperfections of your matter; diſpatch your ſelf of this incommodious vertue, which our Age is not capable of; ſupport what you cannot reform, diſſemble thoſe faults which are not to be corrected; meddle not with thoſe Evils which diſcover the impotency of the Remedies, which decry Medicine, and renders Phyſitians ridiculous; Reſpect thoſe fatal Diſeaſe swhich are ſent from high, wherein ſomething is to be remarked which is ſtrange and unknown, *When the finger of God appears, it muſt needs make the hand of man afraid.*

*In* good time, if you can ſatisfie the honor and dignity of the Crown, yet do not loſe the Crown to preſerve its honor and dignity; Do not ſo tie your ſelves to what's ſavagely, rigorouſly and philoſophically honeſt, that you cannot quit your ſelves of it, leſt neceſſity ſhould exact from you what's more humanely, more ſweetly, and more popularly honeſt. Conſider, that Reaſon is leſs preſſing in Policy then in Morality; that its extent is incomparably more large and more free, when it intends to make People happy, then when we are onely concerned to make particular perſons good. There are Maxims which are not juſt in their own nature, yet which their uſe juſtifies. There are filthy Remedies, and yet they are Remedies. Theſe ſalutiferous compoſitions are made with Humane Blood, with Ordure, and other vile things: But health is ſtill fairer then theſe things are vile; poiſon it ſelf ſometimes heals, and in ſuch a caſe neither is poiſon an evil.

Be not my Maſters too honeſt, nor too juſt *Cato's*; Contend nôt the prize of your bodies againſt this guilty perſon who hath an Army to defend himſelf from your Sergeants; Of a Mutineer, make him not deſperate. In the name of God force not this new *Cæſar* to paſs the Rubicon; to make himſelf Maſter of his Country, to ſpeak theſe remarkable words looking on the ſlain men of a Battel which he won, *Theſe men willed*

*their*

*their own miſhap.* After having done great things, I had had Commiſſioners appointed over me, had I not made uſe of my Souldiers; I had been condemned, had not my innocency been armed; I was threatned with chains and with priſon; I had been delivered to the Barbarians, had not my Cauſe been as ſtrong as it was good.

It's a Monſter, I muſt confeſs it; It's a moral Prodigy to ſee a Citizen impoſe Laws over a Town, to ſee a Subject treat with his Prince; yet ſuch like Prodigies cannot often be expiated but by diſſimulation and by indulgence: When ſuch kind of Monſters cannot be ſubdued, we muſt endeavor to tame them. Were it but to grant an armed Victor a juſtification of what was paſt to make him lay down his arms, why ſhould you opiniaſter your ſelf further, as to force him take an Abolition? Inſiſt not on the punctilioes of forms and words; give him as full and advantagious an Acknowledgement as he can deſire; let himſelf dictate it, and do you write it; let it be written in gilt Paper, and altogether perfumed with his praiſes.

I have elſewhere read with ſome manner of indignation, a Letter of *John Matthew Giberti* Biſhop of *Verona*, and Pope *Clement* the Seventh his Datary, it's addreſt to his Maſters Nuncio with the King of *Hungary*, And by this Letter he witneſſeth, "That "the Pope extremely deſires the reconcilia- "tion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* with the

" holy See, but that he this Datary, foreſaw
" a very great impediment which might
" combate this extreme deſire of his Holi-
" neſs; it was that it did not become the
" Grandeure & Dignity of the Church to ſue
" to Kings or Kingdoms: And that in a bu-
" ſineſs of ſo great reputation order was not
" to be overthrown, nor the fitneſs of things
" to be violated. That for that purpoſe it
" were fit to finde out ſome means to oblige
" the *Bohemians* firſt of all to begin this
" practice, and make the advance of it; that
" preſenting themſelves to Cardinal *Cam-*
" *pegno* (who was Legate in Germany)
" they ſhould be received with open arms;
" but not preſenting themſelves, the Legate
" could not move towards them, nor the
" Judge ſollicite the parties. That what they
" demand ought to be granted, but that they
" were not to be offered what they did not
" demand. Is it not true, that this man was
a great Husband of the point of Honor? This
ridiculous nicety diſpleaſeth me in this pro-
cedure of *John Matthew Giberti*, who other-
wiſe was an excellent man.

I am not onely angry but vexed, that our *Demoſthenes* ſhould be of the number of theſe men; I could wiſh it had been ſome other body who had ſaid in the Council of *Athens*, on the ſubject of a little Iſle neighboring with *Samothracia*, which was in conteſt betwixt the *Athenians* and King *Philip*, " If
" the King will reſtore you the Iſle, and that
the

" the Treaty import the word Surrender, I
" would adviſe you to take it; but not if he
" pretends to give it you, and if he ſhould
" call the reſtitution of what he hath uſurped
" over you a Benefit.

You may by this believe how ſuch Great Perſons have amuzed themſelves on trifles, and that this man priſed the vanity of a word, more then the ſolidity of the thing. If the Emperor *Charls* would have made a preſent of the Dutchy of *Millan* to our laſt Kings, and had *Demoſthenes* been of their Councel, he would have counſelled them to have refuſed the Preſent for fear of doing wrong to the Rights they had to the Dutchy. He would rather have kept his juſt pretentions, and have conſolated himſelf with the hopes of the future, then to have enjoyed the advantage of the preſent, and to have accepted the poſſeſſion of a ſecond Crown, upon ſuch terms as he did believe were not worthy of the firſt.

In the wicked world wherein we live, when they execute Juſtice on us, do we fancy it an act of Grace? Let's not be avaritious of terms and of appearances, ſo as the eſſential part remain. Let them carry away ſome Pictures and Weathercocks, ſo as they leave us the Walls and the Roof. Let them call it a Preſent, a Favor, an Alms if they pleaſe, when the piece is ours we may eaſily give it a fairer name, and that which may pleaſe us better. Let us with honor have

thoſe Iſlands which belong to us; but let us have them at any rate; Let us rather applaud our ſelves for a little wrong we have ſuffered then complain to poſterity of a great injuſtice inflicted on us.

It were better not have a good and piercing ſight in the diſcuſſion of ones Rights; leſt we ſhould therein diſcover but too much Juſtice; it were better not to be ſo able in a mans own buſineſs, leſt a man ſhould be thereby over-perſwaded. This ſo ſubtil and delicate a ſence of the injuries which we have received, is no very convenient thing, when the reparation we require is concerned. So high an opinion of the merit of the cauſe with difficulty ſubmits it ſelf to the Judgement and Deciſion of another. All this ſerves onely to render that impoſſible which we haue a deſign to do, to amuſe a man in a place out of which he ought to go as ſoon as poſſible; theſe are not means to act, theſe are hindrances of action; theſe are not means to level the difficulties of a courſe, they are ſtones which lye before the end of it. They are in effect elevated qualities which commonly accompany Nobleneſs of heart and Generoſity. But they commonly do more hurt then good; At leaſt, they are not for every days uſe, and thoſe who are weak cannot uſe them profitably againſt thoſe who are more ſtrong.

I know not how they underſtand it; But methinks a Treaty cannot be more unhap-

pily

pily concluded or have a more sad success for the one of the parties, then when after a long Negotiation, after an infinite many words thrown in the wind, and writings which must be cast into the fire, it's obliged *To appeal to another Age*, and must bring home again all its Reason and all its Honor: It were far better to quit some of this Reason and of this Honor. Why not consent to an accommodation which were reasonable, in consideration of what's profitable, and which will be no ways dishonest in the necessity of times, whereto Generosity it self and Nobleness of heart ought to accommodate themselves?

LEt us not be blinded therefore with the Reputation of the Wisdom of the *Grecians*; let neither the one nor the other of the Orators of *Athens* perswade us; the Country, the Antiquity, the merit of those which have fail'd, instead to justifie their faults, renders them only the more visible and the more remarkable. Let's once in our lives make use of the liberty of our Judgement, which ought not always to be subalternate to that of the Grecians and Romans; it's a cause of consolation for our poor humanity, to see that even in Hero's there hath been somewhat of the Man.

*How much good it doth me* (an excellent man formerly told me) *to see that Hero's have fled, that wise men have committed folly,*

*lies, that that great Orator made uſe of an ill term, that ſo great a Polititian hath delivered an ill opinion.* Theſe examples of weakneſs and infirmity were the ſpectacles and paſs-times which ſometimes were the divertiſements of this excellent Man; who derided *Demoſthenes* and his ridiculous point of Honor; but he mocked *Cleon* far more with his extravagant Probity.

This Man having been called to the Government of the Republick, would ſignalize his coming to his Place, by I know not what kinde of good which was new and ſtrange; the next day after his promotion, he ſent to deſire his friends to come to him, where being come, and every one with the hopes of ſharing with him in his good fortune, he entertained them with a Diſcourſe which was unexpected to them all, and had almoſt made them all fall to the ground; He told them, *That he had aſſembled them in his houſe to drive them thence, and to declare unto them, that truly as a private man he had been their friend; but being become Magiſtrate, he thought himſelf obliged to renounce their Friendſhip.* He thought this Declaration was an original of Vertue, an act of heroick Probity, the faireſt thing which could have been done at *Athens*. ſince the foundation of the Town, ſince *Theſeus* his time to that of *Cleon*; He did believe that a Stateſ-man was a publick Enemy, and that for the firſt eſſay of his vigor, he

he was to diſpatch himſelf of all his inclinations and of all his friendſhips; That he was to break all the bonds of Nature and of Society.

I have ſeen ſome of theſe counterfeit Juſt men on this ſide and beyond the mountains; I have ſeen ſome who to make their integrity admired, and to oblige the world to ſay, that Favour could work nothing on them, take up a ſtrangers intereſt againſt one of his Kindred, or againſt a friend, although the reaſon was on his Friends or Kinſmans ſide; They have been raviſhed at the loſs of a cauſe which was recommended to them by their Nephew or Couſen German; and the worſt office which could be done a good buſineſs, was, ſuch a recommendation. When divers Competitors pretended to one and the ſame Office, they demanded it for one they knew not, and not for him whom they judged worthy of it.

I proteſt again, that I do not enlarge the buſineſs, I am not an Exaggerator like him who related nothing but Prodigies to Your Highneſs, and had ſeen nothing of what he ſpake. I give you an account, my Lord, from my own experience, and I could name theſe I ſpeak of; I have ſeen ſome who were ſo afraid of favouring any body, that they diſapproved, that they blamed, that they condemned all the world, and moſt commonly without knowing wherefore. In them it was rather extravagancy then cruelty,

elty, rather intemperance of tongue and choler which exhaled it ſelf, then premeditate malice, or a deſign of harming any man, conceived in the Mind, and digeſted by time and by diſcourſe. They would have called *Julius Cæſar* a DRUNKARD, although an hour before they had ſaid of him THAT A SOBER MAN HAD NEWLY RUINED THE REPUBLICK.

Your Highneſs hath heard of that Counſellor who commonly gave his opinion to the death, and ſometimes alſo ſlept on the Flower-de-luces. One day the Preſident of his Court gathering the Voices of the company, and having demanded his, he anſwered him ſuddenly, and being not yet quite awake, *That he was of opinion that that mans neck ſhould be cut off.* *But*, ſays the Preſident, *the debate is about a field; Let it be mowed then, replied the Counſellor.*

Once again, it's neither Malice nor Cruelty, it's Fancy, it's Peeviſhneſs, it's Choler which prevails in the Temperature of theſe Counſellors, which with its ſmoak blacks their firſt motions, and their firſt words: This aduſt humor imprints on their forehead a perpetual negative with which they ſtifle the prayers even in the very hearts of their ſuppliants. They refuſe things which were never demanded, which even were never intended to be demanded.

Theſe Counſellors are not thoſe which ought to be called to the Council of Kings,

were

were they contrary to what they appear; yet were they not to be commended to have taken ſo little care for Vertues out-ſide, and for the appearance of good. Should they have a well-meaning Mind, their Mine would always ſpoil their good Deeds; their ill Humor would ruine all the merit of their good Actions. Obſerve how they habituate themſelves with a frightful and inacceſſible ſeverity; how this fantaſm of ſeverity caſts down and aſtoniſheth the world. Obſerve how they ſtudy to disfigure their outſides, how they wear this vile vizard even at Weddings and at Feaſts, where they affect it as well as elſewhere to ſhew themſelves terrible and redoubtable.

If it were formerly ſpoken of a Grecian, a very honeſt and vertuous man, THAT HE HAD NOT SACRIFICED TO THE GRACES; it may be ſaid likewiſe of ſuch Spaniards or of ſuch French men, very honeſt and very vertuous perſons, who not onely are leſs devout then this Grecian, but that going from indevotion to impiety, far enough from ſacrificing to the Graces, they have caſt down their Altars, they have ſet the Temples of theſe good Goddeſſes on fire, they labor with their utmoſt utterly to aboliſh the worſhip of them. Let's finiſh their elogy, and in the ſpecies repreſent the individuals, which Your Highneſs hath obſerved in the ſeveral Courts where you have been.

It's impoſſible to come near them without

out being offended, they dart forth points and needles from all the parts of their body; their praiſes bite, their careſſes ſcratch; and as there are ſome untoward perſons who knock againſt thoſe faces they would kiſs; they after the ſame manner cannot oblige without diſobliging; they cannot promiſe but with eyes and brows which threaten, they grant favors and courteſies in the ſame tone with which others refuſe them.

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THE

# THE SEVENTH DISCOURSE.

HItherto we have assaulted no body, who could not defend himself; And if your Highness think it fit, let's even excuse those whom we have accused; let's not reproach men with the errors of their birth; let's be indulgent to humane infirmity; let's allow somewhat to the temperature of the body, which may mark the soul with its blemishes; let's be compatible with the weakness of minds, since we receive them as they are given us, and that we are not the chusers of them our selves.

The subtilty of the Understanding, the solidity of Judgment, a couragious Prudence, a considerate Boldness, are not voluntary things. They depend no more from our election, then our healths or a fair proportion. We are responsible for our faults, but not for those of Nature; there is no man obliged to be able, but there is no body but is concerned to be good; and if we cannot furnish our selves for

for the glory of the Publick with Courage, and with Wiſedom, we at leaſt ought to contribute our innocency for the repoſe of Common Society.

What ſhall we ſay then of thoſe inſolent Happy men, who combate with diſplaid colours, the authority of the Laws and of Juſtice, who in the Government of States produce a deſign formed for its ruine; which grow fat and become comely from the juyce and ſubſtance of exhauſted Provinces, who build up their own houſe with the wrack and diſſipation of a whole Kingdom?

What ſhall we ſay of thoſe inſufferable Varlets, who revenge their leaſt quarrels with the hands and arms of their Maſter, who declare all thoſe Guilty of High Treaſon who do not fall proſtrate before them; who by a bloody and cruel Peace, all black with mourning and funerals, bring the people into deſpair, reduce the honeſter ſort of men to be unable to ſave themſelves but in a Revolt?

Finally, What ſhall we ſay of ſuch baſe Courtiers who triumph and yet were never victorious, who enjoy in idleneſs the ſweats and pains of great Captains, who at a Comedy or a Ball expect the news of the getting of ſome Battel, of the taking of Towns, of which the Generals muſt give them an account?

Obſerve them in antient and modern Hiſtory

ſtory; obſerve how all to them is plunder, how all is prey, how they feed on all dead bodies (thus did they formerly ſpeak at *Rome*) and left nothing but loſs and affliction to deſolate Families, to Orphans and to Widows. For although they came only out of the dirt, to ſpeak truly, of kind to no body, yet they believe themſelves the Heirs of all the world. There is no Officer of the Crown, no Governor of a place, whoſe Succeſſion they do not pretend unto, as belonging to them. They think they are not in ſafety ſo long as there is a hole or a precipice in another Mans power.

Your Highneſs perſwades me, that this Deſcription pleaſeth you; it's becauſe you love the truth, how neglected or how much in diſorder ſoever it be. You had found it fairer, and the pieces of this deſcription had been better ajuſted, had I but minded ſomewhat more the Rules of Art; but the crowd of things often breaks compaſs and meaſure; I repreſent onely, without any deſign of trimming or of imbelliſhing; the world furniſheth me with all what I diſplay, which is not ungrateful to your Highneſs. Let's once again, my Lord, conſult the long experience of this world, an experience which imbraceth ſo many Ages and ſo many Countries: Let's enquire more particular news concerning thoſe who govern it, in deſpight of it, of thoſe People who have reigned without a Crown, without Right, and without Merit.

Such

Such People commonly intreduce themselves in Court by low means, and sometimes by such as are but little honest. They sometimes owe the commencement of their fortune to a well danced Saraband, to agility of body, to the beauty of their face; they make themselves valued by shameful services, whose payment is not publickly to be demanded, they put themselves in credit by the recommendation only of vice.

Their design being onely to make pleasing Propositions, they enquire not whether they profit or harm, so as they please it sufficeth. And to establish this strict commerce, which they meditate with the Prince, they insinuate themselves into his Mind, by the intelligence which they endeavor to keep with his Passions: But having once possest themselves of his Mind, they seise on all the avenues, and leave not so much as an enterance for his Confessor. How weak and tender soever his inclinations may be to ill, they water it, and dress it with so much care that presently there springs up a great tree from a little seed, and a violent and opinionated habit from a light disposition.

These are the Petroniusses and the Tigillio's about *Nero*; these are the Advocates of Voluptuousness, who plead its cause against Vertue, and often succeed better then Pleasure it self, when she presented herself to young *Hercules*, and made him an Oration at the foot of the two ways.

It's

It's incredible to think, how many charms they uſe without employing thoſe of Magick, of which the people forbear not to accuſe them. Good God, how ingenious are they to invent new pleaſures to a ſated and diſguſted Soul, with what pungent ſharpneſſes do they awaken the ſleeping luſts which languiſh and can no more! For this purpoſe rather then want extravagant appetites, ſtranger objects and unknown meats, they will ſeek them at the ends of the world, even beyond the bounds of nature, even in the licentiouſneſs of fables; To their ſence, the Sibarites were but groſſly voluptuous for matter of delights, *Naples* and *Capua* the corrupters of *Hannibal*, underſtood nothing at all.

Nor do they at the firſt blow become Maſters; Vertue and they for a time diſpute to gain favor in the Court of a Prince of eighteen years. Sometimes ſhe gets the better, and ſometimes ſhe yields it them; They with her, ſhare the Affections, the Mind, and the Time. *Burrhus* is hearkened unto, but they hinder him from being believed. They are like *Seneca's* ballance, but at laſt they carry away all with them: The Epicure deſtroys as much in three days as the Stoick builds in five years; at leaſt a man may ſay, that having taken the place, they by piece-meals undo the whole frame; they aſſault their Maſters good parts, the one after another. From Venial ſins wherein they find this young ſoul reſuming the battel, and being

being upon his defence, they lead him from ſtep to ſtep to Tyranny and Sacriledge.

At firſt they content themſelves to breath in his ears, That it is not neceſſary for a Prince to be ſo much an honeſt man, That its ſufficient if he is not wicked; that he would put himſelf to too much trouble to make himſelf beloved; that he ought onely to hinder himſelf from being hated. That ſolid and perpetual Probity is too heavy and too difficult; But that its image which changeth not, hath the ſame ſplendor as the original, and produceth the ſame effect; That from time to time a vertuous action which is no great matter of coſt, being fitly performed, may ſerve to entertain his reputation. Thence they go farther, and leave him not in ſo fair a way; after having made him eſteem Good as an indifferent thing, they make him approve Ill reaſonable, they afford Vice the colour of Vertue.

If he have a mind to diſpatch himſelf of one of his Parents againſt the expreſs defences of the Religion of the State, which forbids us *To ſhed the blood of the Empire*; they counſel him to cauſe them to be ſtrangled with a Bow-ſtring, that one drop of it may not be ſpilt, and that Religion may be ſatisfied. If there be an Inceſt in his thoughts, and that this Inceſt is combated with ſome remorſe, they preſently come to the relief of his diſturbed ſpirit. They eaſe his pains by a wonderful ſubtilty, repreſenting to him,

that

that there is indeed no law which permits a Brother to lie with his Sister; but there is a fundamental Law of Monarchy, and Mistris of all the Laws which permits a Prince to do what he will.

To authorize these great escapes, great examples are not wanting, "They tell him "it is not in Turky, and amongst Barbari-"ans that he is to look for examples; Gods "own People, the holy Nation will furnish "you with more then enough. That King "who built the Temple was also the foun-"der of a Seraglio, and we at this day see "at *Constantinople*, but a copy of what was "formerly to be seen at *Jerusalem*. You con-"tent your self with one woman onely, and "he that was wise above others, the wise *So-"lomon* had six hundred, which the holy "Scripture calls legitimate, without reck-"oning those which are otherwise. But "you have heard speak of the last Will of "his Father *David*, and of those gallant "things which he commanded by his Te-"stament. I shall not exaggerate these "things, consider only by how many deaths "he counselled his Son to secure his own.

"In the Law of Grace you cannot find "more sweetness; you stagger, you appre-"hend, at the driving away of a Brother; "the committing of a Cousen German to "prison. The Great *Constantine*, that most "holy, most Religious and most Divine "Emperor, as he hath been called by the mouth

"mouth of Councils, hath done more "without deliberation. Do you not know "that he cauſed his own Son to die upon "the firſt ſuſpition which he had of him? "It's true, he regretted his death, and "acknowledged his innocency. But this "acknowledgement came too late, and his "regret laſted but Four and twenty hours; "he thought himſelf quit by cauſing a Sta-"tue to be erected to the deceaſed with this "Inſcription, TO MY SON CRISPUS, "WHOM I CAUSED TO DIE UNJUST-"LY.

"After this, do you make a difficulty to "diſcharge your ſelf of a burthen, which "incommodates you, to take out of your "way a man who diſturbs you in the world, "and who treads upon your heels, a Co-"ſin in the third or fourth degree, who "hath a deſign to leap over all theſe degrees, "that he may put himſelf in your place?

"Have you any conſideration for the cha-"racter and for the perſon of Church-men, "who refuſe to render you a blind obedi-"ence; *Charlemayn*, who is oue of the Saints "of the Church, and a Predeceſſor to the "Kings of *France*, had not ſuch a reſpect "as you have. He killed with his own hands "an Abbot in his Veſture at the Altar ready "to ſay Maſs, for having denied him I know "not what.

"Do you reſerve your abſolute Authority? "dare you not uſe force when the good of your

"your affairs requires it; The example of "the ſame *Charlemaine* will take from you "all the ſcruples your conſcience can make; "although they tell you of his capitular de- "grees, he knew neither a better nor "greater right then that of Arms; the pom- "mel of his ſword ſerved him for his Seal "and Signet. Do not think that I would "make you believe this; this is Hiſtory, "and is to be taken according to the letter. "To this day there are ſtill Priviledges found "granted, and donation of Lands made by "the good and orthodox Emperor, *Rowland* "and *Oliver* being preſent, ſealed with the "pommel, and which he promiſed to war- "rant with the edge of the ſame ſword.

There have been Favourites, I do not tell you where, but there have been Favourites, who have inſtructed Princes theſe dange- rous Leſſons, and I have it from the Doctors themſelves who made a collection for them of theſe fair Hiſtories.

Being at laſt tired out with defending crimes which were without a Judge, and to excuſe an all-powerful cruelty, they have freely told the Prince, That when there was no example to be found, he might make one; that what had formerly been unheard of, would being done ceaſe, to be ſo; That it would be ſhameful for the So- vereign Authority to give an account of whatſoever it were, and misbecomming him who had Armies and Fleets to maintain his

actions, to ſeek words and pretences to diſguiſe them.

There is not a man (for this is the language of the *Sejanuſſes* and the *Plautuſſes*) innocent in all the parts of his life, and who in his ſoul hates not his Superiors; and conſequently, the Prince cannot but condemn the guilty, nor ſtrike any but his Enemies: Conſequently, he gratifies him whom he bereaves of his goods, in that he takes not away his honor, and leaves him his life. According to their principles, Loyalty is the vertue of a Merchant and not of a Sovereign. They alleadge I know not what Poet, *That in Heaven they in the ſame ſcales put the oathes of Princes with thoſe of Lovers: That the gods equally laugh at one as well as at the other; That Jupiter commands them to be thrown into the winde as vile things and of no concern.*

Thus in a way of fooling and telling of fables, they quite perſwade the Prince, that he is not obliged by his word; after having perſwaded him that he is no longer ſubject to the fancies and viſions of the Legiſlators; they maintain that it belongs to him a-freſh to define unto men what is good or ill: To declare to the world what for the future he will have to be juſt or unjuſt, to ſet a price and value upon every thing, as well in Morality as in Policy.

Thus

THus are Tyrants made, from this ſtock Monſters are engendred; from ſuch Commencements we come to ſet *Rome* on fire, to butcher the Senate, to diſhonor Nature with desbauches, and declare War againſt it by Parricides. Theſe compliant perſons are the firſt cauſes of ſo many miſeries; and did not theſe winds blow, we ſhould be ſenſible of none of theſe tempeſts. It is not without a cauſe therefore, that we ſpeak with ſome eſmotion, and that being in a good condition for that matter by Your Highneſs's good conduct; Humanity invites us to be compatible of the ſufferings of deceaſed States and of afflicted People. But let us not content our ſelves to lament them; Let's turn our pitty into indignation.

Since that in the world there is no Good of ſo great uſe, and which ſo univerſally communicates it ſelf as a good Prince; nor no Ill which diſperſeth it ſelf more, and which is more pernicious then an ill Prince: There are no where puniſhments great enough in all the extent of humane Juſtice for thoſe perſons who change this good into ill, and who corrupt ſo ſalutiferous and ſo excellent a thing; they had far better have poiſoned all the wells and all the fountains in their Countries; ſhould they infect even the Rivers themſelves, water might be gotten from elſewhere, even Heaven would ſtill

furniſh us with ſome drops: But here of neceſſity, we muſt either drink water or poiſon; againſt thoſe Domeſtick Ills we are not permitted to uſe Foreign Remedies. We are obliged to continue miſerable by the Laws of our Religion, and to obey furies and mad men, not onely out of fear but alſo for conſcience ſake.

For which cauſe, ſince the perſons of Princes, whatever they be, ought to be inviolable and ſacred, and that the characters of Gods finger makes an impreſſion which we ought to reverence on what matter ſoever it be engraven. Let us turn all our hatred againſt thoſe flatterers which caſt us into theſe miſeries without redemption: Let us lay it on thoſe evil Counſellors which give us ill Princes, which provoke innocents to murther, and Murtherers to burn Temples. For in effect, their pernitious advice endears ever thoſe reſolutions which have been taken. Their Maxims of Fire and Blood aſſure and fortifie Malice when it is as yet timerous and doubtful; they ſharpen what cuts, they precipitate what is falling, they encourage the violent when they run after the prey, they inflame the deſires of the Avaritious for our Goods, and thoſe of Impudent perſons for our Wives.

NOw if they meet with natures which are not ſuſceptible of thoſe ſtrong Paſſions, and which are in anequal degree diſtant from Vice

and from Vertue. If they light on theſe ſoft Princes, who are without ſting or offence, and have no inclination to ill, their nature inclining them ſo to idleneſs as not to ſuffer them to ſtir out of their places. It's ſtill the worſe for thoſe people who are to live under them, for abuſing the ſimplicity of their pliant Maſter, and taking the advantage which their ſpirit hath over his, they reign themſelves openly. And obſerving it but as the right and title of their unjuſt Dominion, to the weight of Tyranny they add the ſhame there accrues for ſuffering it from a particular perſon.

You cannot imagine the wiles and artifice they uſe to attain hereunto, and totally to ſubject to themſelves the Prince. Firſt, the method is to ſpur him up with glory in the eſtabliſhment of their fortune. They give him to underſtand through ſeveral Trunks, that his Predeceſſors who were nothing more powerful then he, made ſome far greater Creatures of theirs. That it's far better to raiſe up new People, who have no dependance, and who ſhall onely hold from his Majeſty, then to uſe perſons of a good birth, and of a known Probity, whoſe affections and party are already made; That it concerns his honor not to leave his works imperfect, to labor for their imbelliſhment after having eſtabliſhed their ſolidity. That he ought to put them in a condition that they may not be ruined but by themſelves: That if he

he yields to the desires of his Grandies, who will endure no Companions; and if he contents the complaints of his People, who are Enemies to all growing Greatness, he will not for the future have the power to do any good; he will be forced to call an Assembly of the States General to dispose of the least Office in the Kingdom. Last of all, that he cannot abandon a person who hath been so dear unto him, without condemning the conduct of many years, and rendring a publick testimony either of his past blindness or of his present fickleness.

It's certain, that having begun to love a thing, for the love of it self, time presently adds our own interest to the merit of the thing; the desire we have that all the world should believe that all our elections are good, makes that action out of necessity, which before was voluntary; so that what hath been done against Reason, being not to be justified but by Constancy, we never think we have done enough; and upon this belief which we have, were we resolved to discontinue our affection, yet it seems we are obliged to defend our judgment.

Now if these considerations can shake stable minds, and sometimes make wisemen fail, we need not be astonished if they easily overthrow a weak Prince, who makes use onely of borrowed reason, and who will yield himself to be perswaded by a very mean eloquence, so as it do but favor his inclination.

And

And now he is engaged in the making of this Subject whom he loves Great; he speaks of him no more, but as his enterprise, and his end in it; he is without minding it become an Idolater; he adores what he hath made, and is like the Statuaries of *Athens*, who of their own Works made their gods. His thoughts which should be employed for Glory, and have no other object but the Safety of the People, are all at an end in this gallant Design; he opens him his coffers, and poures out treasures on him as well in dispight of others as to benefit him. He hath already conferred on him all the Offices of his Kingdom, and all the Ornaments of his Crown; he hath nothing left to give him but his own Person; which at last he doth with so absolute and so total a resignation, that in the very Monasteries there is not an example of a will more subjected, and more perfectly renouncing it self.

He appears but when his presence is necessary to authorise Counils, in which he never bore a part, and he is content to shew himself for no other purpose; he is amuzed with petty divertisements unworthy of his condition and of his age; but did they give him babies to play withal, neither would he be offended; his Domesticks are every day changed, and he likes it well; they take from about him all that speaks, and he guesseth not why; they make him altogether a new Court, and he admits of it; they

ruine under ſeveral pretences all that's eminent and vertuous in the State, and he conſents thereunto.

Againſt thoſe who are leſs ſuffering, and harder to be brought under the yoke, open arms and force is employed; Thoſe that are rich and peaceable, are aſſaulted by accuſers and calumnies; To thoſe whoſe ſervices maintain them, and whoſe fidelity is without reproach, they grant ruining Commiſſions, or ill Armies to aſſault ſtrong places, that they may loſe their reputation or may loſe themſelves. Some are driven away with an abſolute command to retire themſelves, others are baniſhed by an Embaſſie; and in the place of all, as many as there are of them, the ambitious Courtier placeth perſons at his devotion, who never look farther then their Benefactor, and ſtop at the next cauſe of their fortune.

Thus is the poor Prince at mercy and diſcretion of his Favorite, caſts not forth a ſigh but a Spy renders him an account, utters not one word but what is told him again. So that in the midſt of the Court he is ſenſible of the irkſomneſs of a ſolitude; he ſees nothing about his perſon of his acquaintance, and hath not one onely faithful ear to whom he may ſay, *I ſuffer.* But beſides that he is ſo far engaged that there is no way for him to releaſe himſelf; the other hath made all the world either his Enemy, or ſuſpected, that he may have none but him

to

to truſt. By having long had the poſſeſſion of Affairs, which he communicates with no man, he alone underſtanding all, and knowing the State, he at laſt becomes a neceſſary evil, which neither can the Prince be cured of but by a dangerous remedy.

After this manner, in an abſolute Peace being well with all his neighbors, no forregn Army appearing on the frontier, without ſtroke ſtriking, or having ventured further, then from the Palace to the ſtreet, he ſees himſelf miſerably fallen into another mans power, which is after the loſs of a Battel, the worſt thing which could happen him. The unhappy moment which firſt engaged him to commence his affection, and to believe more then he ought, hath reduced him to this deplorable extremity. And to ſpeak home, the Battel of *Pavia* was not ſo funeral to *Francis* the Firſt, nor the taking of *Rome* to *Clement* the Seventh: For if their diſgrace was great, at leaſt, neither was it voluntary: If they loſt their Liberty, they in their affliction preſerved the greatneſs of their Courage; and if they were taken Priſoners, twas by a great Emperor, who was their enemy, and not by one of their petty Subjects. There is no captivity ſo miſerable, ſo baſe, nor ſo infamous as that of a Prince who ſuffers himſelf to be taken in his Cabinet, and by one of his own; He could not have exerciſed a more cowardly patience, nor be more ſhameſully unhappy.

I ſhall

I ſhall go further yet, when a King eats his People to the very bones, and lives in his own State as in an Enemies Country, he doth not ſo far eſtrange himſelf from the duty of his Place, as when he obeys another. There is a great difference betwixt Tyranny and Royalty; yet it reſembles it a great deal more then Servitude. It's at leaſt ſome kind of Government, and one way of commanding men, although it be not the moſt perfect. But for a Sovereign to give himſelf as a prey to three or four petty Fellows, and not reſerve ſo much as the diſpoſition of his own Will, to follow his own Inclinations, nor the uſe of his own Judgement in the knowledge of affairs: In ſuch a caſe I know not what name to give him, and there cannot be a more miſerable Interregnum then his life, during which he doth nothing, and yet doth all thoſe evils which happen to the People.

In this condition, he is civilly dead, and hath as it were depoſed himſelf. It's onely his Effigies which is uſed in publick, which out of cuſtom, and for a ſhew hath ſome duties paid unto it, and to whom many uſeleſs Congees are made. Men are no longer bound to the legitimate and natural power. They follow another which is ſtranger and uſurped; which is in a violent way born from the firſt, and in adultery. Royalty is forſaken to run after favor, of which the Arabians ſay, *That it's a Girle which often kills her own Mother.*

What

What a brave thing it was in former times to ſee a King of *Caſtile*, who durſt not walk abroad, nor put on a new Sute without the permiſſion of *Alvare de Luna*! all favours which others demanded of him, he was obliged to obtain from him; the moſt he could do was to recommend his Servants to his Favorite, and to do good offices towards him, for thoſe whom he loved. What a brave thing it would be to ſee ſuch a Courtier as he was, who revoked the elections of his Prince, reſtored thoſe again to their places which his Maſter had endowed. What a brave thing it were, that he ſhould not like that his Maſter ſhould once in his life read a paper which he preſented him to ſign, and that he ſhould complain it was to offend his Fidelity, and forget his paſt Services!

But it was a braver and far more excellent thing for this man who governs his Maſters mind, and ſoveraignly commands over his Subjects, for himſelf to obey a Miſtriſs. What if it ſhould happen, that Love ſhould govern the Politicks, and that the Fortune of a whole Kingdom were the paſtime of a debauched Woman? For it's too true, that ſuch perſons have ſtrangely derided the authority of the Laws and the Majeſty of Empire more then once; they have trampled under foot Crowns and Scepters; they have taken pleaſure and ſported themſelves with the violation of Juſtice, and have exerciſed cruelty with afflicting and rendring Humane kind miſerable.

Let

Let us for once paſs by thoſe Hiſtories which with their remembrance terrifie and wound the imagination: Let's not mention the blood which thoſe Women have cauſed to be ſpilt: Let's ſuppreſs the frightfulneſs and formidableneſs of their Tragedies; and let's produce but one little touch of the bravery of their humor. Not long ſince there appeared one, who was riſen to ſo high a degree of inſolency, that having been ſollicited about a certain buſineſs, which had been repreſented unto her juſt and facile to be done, that ſhe might the more willingly employ herſelf therein, ſhe anſwers with a fierceneſs worthy of her Nation, and of that Country whence come all our Rodomontado's, *That ſhe uſed not her credit ſo laviſhly, that another might ſerve in ſo ſlight an occaſion, and do juſt and poſſible things, for her part ſhe accuſtomed herſelf only to undertake thoſe which were unjuſt and impoſſible.*

How many Miſchiefs do you think follow ſuch an one? How many violences are committed under the ſhadow of this unjuſt Fortune? And the Courtier hath not a Groom who believes it not to be his right to treat evil ſuch perſons who are free, and by alleadging onely their Maſters name to commit outrages with impunity? Are there any people about him, who at leaſt do not plunder if they forbear from murthering; who do not make ſale of a ſight, or of an audi-

ence

ence of his; who enrich not themselves with the refuse of his Avarice, and with the superfluities of his house?

All this while the Prince sins not, and yet he forbears not to be guilty. His ignorance is unpardonable; his Patience is not Vertue, and the disorder which either he knows not of, or which he suffers, is imputed to him before God even as if himself had made it. With a great deal of reason therefore, that Prince, who was according to Gods own heart, in express terms, desires him, and that in the fervency of his most ardent prayers, THAT HE WOULD CLEANSE HIM FROM SECRET FAULTS AND ACQUIT HIM FROM THE SINS OF OTHERS; This last word, signifies it not, that Kings ought not to content themselves with a personal and particular Innocency; That it matters nothing for them to be Just, if they lose themselves by the Injustice of their Ministers?

And to this purpose, I will not let slip a pretty escape which a religious man of *Italy* in our Fathers days made, preaching before a Prince of that Country; being in the middle of his Sermon, wherein he had discoursed of the duties of Sovereigns, and not minded to tire himself with staying too long in the general Thesis, he all at once breaks forth in these words, which he addrest to him who heard him.

"I saw

"I saw, my Lord, a strange Vision last night; "Methought the earth opened before me, and "I distinctly looked into the centre there- "of, I considered the torments of the other "life, and all that terrible train of Gods "Justice, since which, my Imagination is "scarce well reassumed. Amongst the wick- "ed of the past ages; I knew many of these "Detractors, Murtherers, Impious persons "and Hypocrites ran thither in great troops, "and crowded at the brim of this Gulf; "but having observed in their lives the visi- "ble marks of their Reprobation, I thought "it not strange to see them arrive whereto "I had seen them march; what astonished "me most extremely above all, was, that "I perceived you there my Lord, in this un- "happy throng which was at the brink of "destruction; and even as I was thus af- "frighted and interdicted by the novelty of "so unexpected an encounter, I cried out "to Your Highness, Is it possible that a man "should damn himself by praying to God, "and that you should go to hell, you my "Lord, who are the best and the most re- "ligious Prince in the world? Whereunto "Your Highness Answered me with a sigh, "I DO NOT GO FATHER, BUT I AM "LED THITHER.

THe fertility of this subject is so great, that it will furnish us with Discourse for all the next week, but we must end with this,

this, and conclude, That the diſtance is great enough betwixt the Sovereign and private Perſons, to raiſe them up very high, and yet leave them room enough below him. IT'S GOOD THAT HE WHO IS NEAREST THE PRINCE SHOULD BE EXTREMELY DISTANT FROM HIM; IT'S FIT THERE SHOULD BE MANY THINGS WHICH THE BEST BELOVED MAY NOT REACH.

Juſtice admits of favor, we have long ſince confeſſed it; Reaſon deſtroys not Humanity, oppoſeth not it ſelf againſt honeſt affections, it condemns not Familiarity and Confidence. Philoſophy and Chriſtianity agree in all theſe with Nature; and the Son of God when he made himſelf Man hath by his example authorized all this: Let there therefore be a Favorite at Court, Heaven and Earth allow of it; Let there be a man, we would have it ſo, who is the Princes Confident; But let there not be a man who day and night beſiegeth the King; who by a violent uſurpation appropriates him to himſelf; he who will have to himſelf alone a good which ought to belong to all the world, exerciſeth the ſame Injuſtice as if he hid the Sun from the world, as if he ſhut up Churches to all the People in it.

Let the Prince ſend forth as long as he pleaſe a reflection of his Greatneſs on thoſe Subjects who have found favor in his ſight; Let him communicate unto them the rayes of his power;

power; But let him not transfer it entirely into their persons; let him never cast off from himself his Globe of light; Let his Liberality enrich particular persons, so as it do not impoverish the Kingdom; Let his Benefits abundantly flow in some places, so as he remain Master of the Spring. The Oracle of the Low Countries upon this subject, made me this answer, that knowing and wise man *Justus Lipsius*, when I consulted with him at *Louvain*.

"Must the King and he who reigns be "still two different persons? Must he correct "all their Edicts, and change a word in all "their days? Where there is *the tenth or fif-* "*teenth of our Reign*, must he blot out *our* "*Reign*, and make it *our Servitude*, or at "least *our subjection*; It never was the in- "tention of him who founded Monarchies, "that Soveraignty should be so basely abu- "sed, as to make it change place, that it "should never be where it ought to be. So- "vereign Power is of the nature of those "things, which are so much ours, that we "cannot give them to another, nor separate "them from our selves. Its legitimate so "long as it remains in the hands of those "who have received it from the Laws "of the State. But the same Law will have "it so, that it cannot pass from one to ano- "ther, unless it be by means of birth, or the "election of the People. Here ends that answer of the Oracle of *Louvain*.

Our

Our wiſe Predeceſſors were herein wiſe, as well as in other things; As they did not make the Crown elective in favor of themſelves; they would not make it a propriety in favor of the King, nor ſo abſolutely intruſt it to him, that it ſhould be in his power to inſtitute an Heir, examples whereof may be ſeen in the Hiſtories of other Countries; They would not the King ſhould have the power to reſign the Kingdom at his pleaſure, and to whom he pleaſed; That he could deligate the whole or any part. But on the contrary, by a Law which is of the ſame age and of the ſame force as the Salick, they ordained it ſhould be unalienable and indiviſible.

And thoſe Polititians who have taken moſt liberty; thoſe inſolent and temerous Doctors which have entred a proceſs againſt their Judges, having had the boldneſs in their writings to touch the Lords Anointed, and to treat of the depoſing of Kings; expreſly intimate this caſe wherein Subjects are not obliged to acknowledge their Prince, *When himſelf*, ſay they, *acknowledgeth a foraign Authority, and makes himſelf Tributary to another.* So incompatible with Royalty, have they eſteemed all manner of ſubjection and dependance; and what is Royalty, ſay they, but the vain Magnificence of a Feaſt, but a monſter of ceremony, if he who exerciſeth it hath a Superior or a Companion?

For my part I wade not ſo far: I am ſatisfied to ſay, that in Preſumption there is ſomewhat more noble then in weakneſs; and that ſuch like exceſſes are leſs to blame then ſuch like defaults: Thoſe who march at a venture in an unknown Country, and who bind themſelves too much to their opinions, are of far more value then thoſe who follow blind Guides, and who out of too much docility fail. In fables there are Hero's which have been mad, but there are none which have been weak; Sometimes there appears the overflowing of their paſſions, but the ſtupidity of their minds is never mentioned.

In effect, what would it be, my Lord, to be at one and the ſame time at the higheſt riſe of Humane things, and at the loweſt ſtage amongſt men! To be called His Majeſty, and His Highneſs, and to be poſſeſt of nothing but what's little and low; To need a Curator on the Throne, and a Pedagoge in Council. *O God ſend this evill to thoſe of Aſia.*

But we muſt ſpeak more like Chriſtians, and more charitably; Let's conclude with a Prayer which ſhall comprehend *Aſia* with *Europe*, and which embraceth the general good of the World. LORD TURN AWAY FROM ALL STATES AN EVIL WHICH IS THE CAUSE OF SO MANY OTHER EVILS, DENY NOT SOVERAIGN

VERAIGNS THE SPIRIT OF COMMAND AND CONDUCT, WHICH IS FIT FOR THEM TO GOVERN; GIVE THEM UMDERSTANDING ENOUGH TO COUNSEL THEMSELVES WELL, AND TO CHOOSE THEIR COUNSELLORS AS THEY OUGHT.

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AN



# AN ADVICE

## pronounced and ſince written.

*Wherein is the Extract of an entertainment, in which was diſcourſed of Miniſters, and of the Miniſtery of State.*

*To Monſieur* Girard, *Official and Archdeacon of* Angouleſm.

YOu ſhall have your deſire; for who can refuſe a man who demands with ſo good a grace? Were not even this man my perfect friend, were he not my Reverend Father in God, were he not the beginning of an Archbiſhop, and more then one half of a Monſignor? Should not this man (patience a little, for I am not yet at the end of this Period) ſhould not this man I ſay, ſo conſiderable in reſpect of his Character and Deſerts have the power over me and my writings, which a perfect friendſhip and fidelity of forty years require.

I therefore now ſend you Sir, my Advice of the other day *Auguſtus* his Favorite, of the laſt Edition reviewed, and the Letter to the Qu. of *Sweden*; you will pleaſe to communicate them to Monſieur the Governor ſince he ſeeks divertiſement, and believes he may finde it in my writings. But I ſhall entreat you to advertiſe him, that in the Advice nothing was added to what was ſpoken; ſhould I reduce it into order, I ſhould falſifie the thing which was not treated with method, nor by the Rules of Art. Here it is as it paſt in the liberty of converſation which followed the reading of the firſt and fifth Diſcourſe of *Ariſtippus*.

THe Prince ought not to follow his own inclinations when he is to chuſe his Miniſters; herein he muſt away with capricio's and fantaſies: Let him in other things ſport and divert himſelf as he pleaſeth; in a choice of ſo high a concern he muſt uſe the severity of his Judgment, and with the firſt bring with him the indifferency of his will; it ought to be a pure operation of Reaſon, free and diſpoiled of love or hate.

After an exact ſearch, and ſerious deliberation, after having been plenarily ſatisfied on all thoſe difficulties which he made unto himſelf, and which were made by others. He may conclude, *That this particular perſons leiſure wa the Republicks loſs, and that that loſt as much time as he ſpent in his repoſe.*

But

But in pursuit, having tried the person he chose, and having received those services he hoped for, if he will do what's just, he will make his Minister his Favorite, and will not suffer him to desire any thing beyond the acknowledgement of an obliged Prince; it's just he should not impart common honors to an extraordinary vertue, that he should not avaritiously dispense his favors on a place whereon Heaven hath poured forth all hers.

But do you remember Sir, that I spoke of *Agrippa* and of *Mœcenas* who are long since dead, and have left behind them none of their race, although the earth be large, and the number of the people which inhabit it not small. *Augustus* could never have found through all its extent, two better or more efficacious instruments for those glorious Enterprises he designed: He had need of those two men to establish that eternal Peace he intended the Universe; these men were necessary for him to perswade obedience to people that were free, to make his arms revered by the vanquished, to render that Power which was terrible to all the world, grateful to every particular person.

Besides which, they were friends worthy of *Augustus*, enlightned with the clearest lights of wisdom, when they were to deliberate; they burnt with zeal and affection, when they were to execute things deliberated. Sometimes they followed the intentions

tions of *Augustus*, otherwhiles they prevented them. They did not onely obey his words and his commands, but even the signs he made and his desires. None but they could have born the splendor of so lively and active a vertue as his, far enough from being able to have upheld it, to fortifie it as they did, and to cooperate with it.

Is it not true, that a Prince who hath such Ministers may take some hours of rest without prejudice to the Publick repose, may take up the debates in his mind without disturbance to his affairs? I am confident you are of my mind, but you must also confess, that such Props as these are not in Sholes under one Raign or in one Kingdom, not even in History, which embraceth several Raigns and Realms. Such helps as these are rare presents from heaven. A man had need know how to chuse; these kind of elections are not every day to be made; all Ages are not so happy as that of *Augustus*; *And that man whom the world may sometimes stand in need of, perhaps may not be then born.*

THere are some Souls capable of Fear, which was the second point of our conversation, which otherwise are fair souls, and want not light; But they are without fire, or so ill kindled, so weak, and so languishing, that they appear to be without action; these Souls are only fit to exercise easie vertues,

tues, they know not how to act, but when they move without reſiſtance; ſuch Miniſters to be ſure will never truſt to Chance; they would have a God for their ſecurity, and more then an Oracle for their aſſurance in the leaſt of their undertakings; their Maſter may have courage, but the timerouſneſs of their Councels blunts the edge of his courage, they always reſtrain, and never ſpur him forwards.

Take heed, I beſeech, you of thoſe able Cowards *Ariſtippus* entertain'd us withal; obſerve how a new experiment puts their wiſdom in diſorder, how a ſimple report without an Author or foundation, caſts them out of their ordinary ſituation; how grave and diſſembling ſoever they are at the firſt allarm, their Mask falls, *all their buſineſs is to be read in their faces, in the afternoon you may know the Diſpatches they received in the morning* (ſo that good wiſe Gentleman Mr. *Conrart* once told us) although they endeavor to palliate themſelves with a conſtrained ſilence, the eſmotion of their mind ſtill appears in their troubled looks.

When our *Philip de Comines* learnt from the mouth of the Duke of *Venice*, the League which was concluded againſt King *Charls* his Maſter betwixt that Seignory, the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, *&c.* this news which he nothing ſuſpected, and during the time of his Embaſſie did ſo ſurprize him, that if you will beleeve Cardinal *Bembo*, it

almoſt made him quite loſe his wits. And when he went out of the Senate with a Secretary of the Seignory, who had order to accompany him, *My friend*, ſaid he, *pray repeat what the Prince told me, for I have quite forgotten it; I no longer know what is become of my Memory, or of my Reaſon.*

This example is ſingular, whether it were by reaſon that ſuch a ſecret was kept amongſt ſo many Senators, and ſo many Ambaſſadors, who treated about this League or by reaſon of our Ambaſſadors ſurpriſe, who ſeeing them every day never was ſenſible of any thing which concerned their Treaty, yet ought he not for this loſe the good reputation which he had otherwiſe ſo well deſerved. A thunder-clap in a ſerene Skie, may well aſtoniſh a man who thinks not on a tempeſt. But there are men, and I know ſome, to whom every noiſe is a thunder-bolt, and who are aſtoniſhed at every thing. There are ſome men whom Confidence and Deſpair alternatively ſometimes take and leave again in one day. So baſe an agitation, and ſo miſ-becoming the dignity of a wiſe man (I ſpeak of the wiſe of this world, not of the Stoically wiſe) is far eſtrang'd from that equality of mind, which ought to appear in all the ſeveral changes of Humane things; in the ebbings and flowings of Court. It is not Conſtancy which we are to witneſs amongſt the extravagancies and fickleneſs of fortune? ſhall a Pilot

tremble and grow pale at sight of the first rising billow, shall he let the Rudder fall from his hands? shall he quit his place? shall he abandon the ship in a tempest if it cease not as soon as it pleaseth him?

A funeral news may happen which may cause a universal astonishment, men may every where cry out, that all is lost; They may bring news that *Hannibal* is at the City gates, that a Province is revolted, that another is shaken. In this publick consternation shall the Minister hide himself in the recesses of the Palace, to weep for the miseries of the State, to make vows amongst the women? On the contrary, were I to be credited, he ought to appear in publick Piazzo's and in all other frequented places; he ought to be at every turn of ill fortune, and because he ought not to fear he deserves to be respected. A Poet hath gone before me, *MERVITQVE TIMERI NON METUENS.*

Neither the audacity of evil Subjects, nor the debility of honest men, nor the murmurs of ignorant people, nor the discourses which he shall hear in his chamber of those who will wager his ruine in the Court below, will be able to disturb the serenity of his looks, which manifests a peace without and tranquility within.

By his good mine he will reassure affrighted hearts, he will keep himself erect over those ruines which may fall under him, he

will never despair of the Republick, but considering THAT MEN ARE AS OFTEN DECEIVED IN DESPAIR AS IN HOPE, AND THAT THE SICKNESSES WHICH SOME DIE OF, AND WHEREOF OTHERS ARE CURED, HAVE THE SAME BEGINNINGS; after having herein imployed all possible remedies, and forgotten none of the secrets of Art, he will cast himself into the arms of Providence, and recommend his Affairs to God, this also I acknowledge from that good and wise Gentleman Mr. *Conrart.*

THis assurance in astonished persons, and this calm in a tempest, must needs proceed from that strong constitution of mind which is nothing subject to those disorders which the Passions raise, and which are nothing shaken with what impetuosities soever fortune clasheth with them. But whatsoever the Barbarians of the Court say, or if you had rather call them the enemies of learning, the study of Wisdom is no unprofitable help to Magnanimity and Judgment.

True and good Philosphy, for there is one which is false and evil, renders death familiar unto us by a frequent meditation; it bereaves us of fear, and diminisheth ill; it teacheth us that the onely faults which we commit, are the onely mishaps which befall us; and the consolation which a man receives who is at no loss by his imprudence, but by the

the infidelity of others is to be preferred to the good ſucceſſes of him who gains by his crimes and not by his vertues.

That Miniſter of whom you fancy I have made this Picture, but which I reſerve in my ſecret Repoſitory, being called to the Government in ſuch troubleſome times, ought to uphold himſelf on theſe principles; he ought to paſs from the Philoſophy of words to that of actions; an unforeſeen accident will never overthrow his Rules nor his Maxims, becauſe there can be no accident which he foreſees not, and ſmels not a far off. He will neither apprehend the danger of his perſon, nor the ruine of his fortune; he will apprehend nothing but blame and an ill reputation; And although Prudence be a Vertue principally employed for the preſervation of him who poſſeſſeth it; yet neither will Prudence hinder him from prizing ſeveral other goods more then his own life.

But when things grow better, and times become leſs evil, he for that will not ſleep out a calm, nor unbend himſelf from his former vigor. Our wiſeman will go before all diſorders, not onely with quick and penetrating eyes, but alſo with a firm and an undaunted heart. If he ſees ſome ſigne of change appear, and the leaſt preſage of a civil War, he will endeavor to ſtiffle the Monſter before its birth. It would be vain to repreſent unto him thoſe inconveniencies

which threaten him in particular, if he will oppoſe himſelf to a ſpringing faction, he will paſs by all thoſe conſiderations which ſtop the greateſt part of our other wiſemen, and he will onely mind the performance of his duty, without caring for the greatneſs of the danger he is engaged in.

Were there a Son, or the Brother of a King, who were perſwaded to embroil themſelves, he would never ſharpen that Son or that Brother, far leſs would he flatter them: He will give counſel to the Father and the elder Brother which ſhould neither be timerous nor cruel. And if any man ſeek to eſtrange from him the affection of theſe young Princes, he will rather ſerve them without their good will, then pleaſe them by diſſerving them: He will not ſo much reſpect what they would then ſeem to will, as what hereafter they would indeed; nor ſo much the intereſt of others, wherein others engage them, as he will their true and natural intereſts, which can never be ſeparate from thoſe of the King and Crown.

After this manner he will undertake the publick Cauſe with a couragious Probity, and will not make the leaſt appearance of an indiſcreet zeal appear; his force will be without rudeneſs or ſharpneſs; his fidelity to his Maſter without hatred; to his Maſters Brother or Son he will manifeſt a reſpectful boldneſs, and full of modeſty in thoſe occaſions wherein others would ruine all by violence

or negligence Howsoever as it was said at first, he must be resolved come what will to the worst can happen; to save the State he must be prodigal of himself, he is the Kings own man. He must not onely engage himself in a dangerous action, the event whereof is doubtful, but devote himself to an assured death, if his Masters service exact it from him.

It's this quality which is so necessary for a Minister *To love the Princes person as much as the State*; the one and the other passion ought equally to possess his Soul, one without the other being deficient: we went yet further, and after having answered what was alledged in *de Aubignys* History concerning the Dukes of *Joyeuse* and *Espernon*. I thus return to our subject.

IT hath been formerly spoken of two *Macedonians*, *That the one loved Alexander, and that the other loved the King*; it's not well done to part what ought to remain entire; why should we separate the King from *Alexander*, and divide that poor Prince in pieces? it were a violent division, and a violence even to Nature; it's to cut one body into two; the Kings interests are inseparably united with those of the State, and I must confess that I cannot approve the meaness of Cardinal *Birage*, who usually said, *I am not Chancelor of France, I am the Kings Chancelor*, he might as well have added, *And the*

*Queen his Mother*, whose Creature he was; not to take things at worse, methinks he is not to be commended for so ill an expression.

Good Princes themselves protest, *They belong to others, and owe themselves and all to the Commonwealth*; Magistrates and other Officers with far more reason ow themselves unto it. They will never therefore at the same time give and take away the same thing; their souls are too noble to be capable of so base an avarice; will they repent themselves of their liberality? will they secretly take back a present which they solemnly made before all the world? for so I call the administration of Justice, of good Judges, and of good Laws.

Unless that *Melanois* reckoned *France* as nothing, he could no way better then thereby have made it appear, that he was a stranger to it, and that to him it was altogether indifferent But let it not be displeasing to the Cardinal of *Birague*; the Minister ought to love the King and State both at once together. And if besides that, he love some other thing, his second affections must always ranck themselves under the subjection and orders of the first.

If he marry, he ought not to contract himself with any who is suspected by the State, or gives any cause of jealousie to his Prince; but for this its too too much, he ought to renounce his own Country, he ought to break all the bonds of Nature, he ought to sacrifice all for the good of the State, if the good of the

State

State require it. He ought to make it appear, that in a Monarchy there may be a young *Brutus*, who prefers his duty before his Children, and can even loſe them when its neceſſary for the Kings ſervice. He ſhall witneſs himſelf another Marquis of *Piſani*, who one day ſaid of his only Daugher, of ſhe who ſince, and to this day is the wonder of her Age, *If I knew that after my death ſhe ſhould be the wife of a man who were not the Kings Servant, I would ſtrangle her now perſently with mine own hands.*

But if the Miniſter be unmarried, and if he keeps himſelf chaſte, it will be ſo much the greater advantage to his Maſters affairs, and they will be leſs ſubject to inconveniencies; it wil be no ſmal matter That to him who ought perpetually to labor either with courage or with his mind, defended pleaſures are unknown, which have turned ſo many wiſe men into beaſts, and led ſo many Victors in triumph; but the ground of it indeed were, that even he would be without legitimate paſſions which at leaſt amuſe and divert, if they do not debauch and corrupt. Domeſtick cares which uſurp ſo much time from buſineſs will not rob an hour from ſuch a Miniſter; he will never think of the eſtabliſhment of his Family, he will not have one thought but for the Eternity of the State; his affection which would have been divided betwixt his Wife, his Sons and Sons in Law, which would have run into other ſucceſſions, and other de-

pendancies of Mariage, ſo that the leaſt part of it would but have come to his Maſters ſhare, will then be united and gathered together in one only object; his ſoul being void of little cares will be altogether fill'd with thoſe of the publick, &c.

AND then neither will he be troubled to ſeek for venale tongues or mercenary pens. He will be far better praiſed by the publick voyce, then by thoſe of particular perſons. Theſe will neither be ſtarved, and beggarly Orators, nor dirty and ragged Poets to ſpeak well of him; but whole Provinces which have been eaſed of their burthens and taxes, great and goodly Cities whoſe ancient priviledges have been preſerved, Bleſſings and Applauſe will follow him every where; at the ſame time he will be called the Port of the Afflicted, and a ruining Shelf to thoſe who are Violent; the Peoples comfort, and the terror of Forainers, by reaſon that he by his prudence will reduce them to reaſon, nor by his vanity will be offenſive to them.

Thus the Enemies of the State will admire the vertue of which they have cauſe to complain; And what would they not then give for a man who had given them ſo much trouble? with how many millions would they purchaſe one Miniſter? what promiſes what artifice would they not employ if they poſſibly could? I do not ſay altogether to debauch

bauch him, but even to ſweeten him, were it never ſo little; there is nothing but they would do to ſoften the firmneſs of his heart, and to hinder his mouth from ſpeaking the truth; but he who believes he poſſeſſeth *the Spring of Pearls and the Root of Gold*; that King who boaſts to have the price of all things in his coffers, is not rich enough ſo much as to pay for the very ſilence of ſuch a Miniſter as I fancy.

Our Conference ended with a digreſſion which was nothing diſpleaſing to the company, and by two examples which are the one far enough from the other, but which both equally pleaſed you. Neither muſt I forget the laſt point of the other days Advice.

A Wife and Children are powerful hinderances to ſtop a man in his courſe to glory; whoſoever hath them hath given hoſtages to Fortune, and undertakes nothing but with conſtraint, for fear of loſing what he hath given; The ſad repreſentation of a Widows mourning, and his Children being under age, continually preſents it ſelf before his eyes, it enters into all its deliberations. And when his Mind makes its eſcapes by a generous motion, this ſecond thought preſently ſucceeds, which reduceth him into the road again of vulgar ſpirits. He marcheth into the Field onely when the ſignal is given him from Court; he raiſeth the ſiege before a place when it can hold out no longer in obedience:

obedience to the ſecret orders he receives from his Wife. In the moſt honorable occaſions he regrets the ſmoke of *Ithaca*, he ſighs for the abſence of *Penelope*; He preſers the wrinckles of an old woman, who expects him at home, before that immortality which is promiſed him if he will but remain with the Army.

This ſame man being married, is grown another in Wedlock; formerly he believed it was piety to hazard himſelf for his Country, and now he believes it's cruelty not to preſerve himſelf for his Family. He no longer thinks on vertue, foraſmuch as he cannot leave it in his Teſtament; he cares for nothing but Wealth, and Offices which may ſucceed from him to his; for which he hath ſuch irregular deſires, and ſuch a blind ambition, that he no longer knows God nor the King, and ſticks neither at Altars nor Thrones when his intereſt is concerned.

Had not *Stilicon* been married, his end had been more happy, then the firſt part of his life was ſparkling The Emperor *Theodoſius*, to whom he had rendred very profitable and moſt ſignal ſervices, judged him worthy of his Alliance, and gave him to Wife his Neece *Serena*, who by adoption was his Daughter, he afterwards received a ſecond mark of greatneſs, and had the honor to be Father in Law to the Emperor *Theodoſius*; but he thought it a ſmal matter that his Siſter ſhould be Emperatrice, & that his Son ſhould ſtill be

his

his sisters Subject and remain but a private Person: The mischief was, he had this Son, and that he loved this Son more then his duty. *Eucherius* was the cause why *Stelicon* died guilty of high Treason, and an Enemy to the State; although he had formerly been the Princes Tutor, and the States Protector, although he had defended both the one and the other against the Treasons of *Ruffinus*, and the Enterprises of the *Barbarians*.

PRrince *Maurice* of *Orange* was no ordinary man, and his actions deserve respect; he is particularly to be considered (these are the reflections of an Italian Academick) although he professed himself of a Sect which not only permits Marriage, but ordains and commands it, yet would never marry; whether he believed he should never get Children which resembled him, or that he apprehended that if he had any, the consideration of his fortune might make him undertake something to the prejudice of the publick liberty, or whether he would not divide that affection which he thought he was obliged to preserve entire for his Country.

THis was near upon my advice the other day; and since you thought it not fit to be lost in the air with the rattle of words, and that Monsieur our Governor will not be angry to see it in paper, you will oblige me to carry it to him, and to make him this small present from me; Were I

in a condition to go abroad, I would eaſe you of the trouble, and ſpare your Oration, but I know that the pains which you take for me are pleaſant unto you, and that ſpeeches coſt you nothing.

It's not the firſt time, my dear Sir, that I have better expreſt my ſelf by your mouth, then by mine own. You have oftner then once been my Ambaſſador (I uſe your own terms) as well towards Monſieur the Marſhal *d' Effiat*, as to Monſieur the Count *d'Auaux*; you have made your ſelf heard by thoſe good Lords, and have after a ſtrange manner made me been valued. Let's go yet farther on in the Hiſtory; in confidence of me you have gone to Monſieur the Arch-Biſhop of *Thouloufe*, and Monſieur the Biſhop of *Liſieux*. You promiſed them my Letters to oblige me to write unto them, and they came to you to meet them, when they knew you had any for them. Before *Janſenius* or the *Janſeniſts* were ſpoken of, Monſieur the Abbot of St. *Cyran* called you *My Aurora*; he received you with open arms, and you have been always well entertained by the illuſtrious perſons of our age; he therefore in my opinion will not treat you leſs favorably then thoſe; it's neceſſary for him to divert himſelf, and for that purpoſe you will come moſt opportunely after ſo many troubleſom buſineſſes and ſo many ſad objects wherewith our Province hath been of late filled; he may untire his mind, and rejoyce his ſight

with

with these our lines which you shall give him.

For the Picture it self which you promised him, its another story. It's not at all in my Cabinet as you fancy, it's still in the Painters Idea, and consequently it will be difficult for you to make good your promise. Such Pieces require leisure and meditation. An old Artist as I am, having some honor to lose, and being obliged to have a care to preserve the good opinion which men have of him, he ought to respect the judgment of the publick, and not to abuse those favors which he hath received. Althongh I will paint no more, I have far less mind to daub.

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*FINIS.*

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Timerousness *is dangerous and prejudicial to a Minister of State, or to a Favorite,* 144.145

Timerous *persons are placed in the number of Poysoners and Assassins, how that's to be understood,* 65. *They are the last and worst of all Cowards,* ibid. *A wiseman ought to expect*

*without*

without astonishment, till ill fortune be come, 67
Treary. It were expedient to quit somewhat our own reason and Honor, rather then not to make a good and honest accommodation, 106
Tyrants, how they by degrees make and form themselves, 117, 118

W.

WArs. The quarrels of Valors often sets the world on fire, and not their Masters interests, 40. The war of the King of Persia against Greece was onely undertaken to bring home a Mountebank, 41.
Weakness of mind is a subject of consolation for our poor humanity, to see that something of the man was in their Hero's, 107. 108
A Woman despised by a King obligeth her Husband to revolt for to revenge herself, he being ignorant of what moved him thereunto, 41, 42
Wisdom; the refutation of what some Philosophers say that a wise man needs no body; and what is separate from him, is to no purpose, 1, 2.
Court-Wise men counsel themselves instead of counselling their Master, 62, 63. A wise man cannot warrant success, but is to be responsible for his intentions and for his Advice, 66
Our Prudent Politicians should imitate the courage and magnanimity of Cicero, 67. Timerousness so possesseth their minds, that they despair before they ought to be afraid, 68.

They

*They regulate their deliberations, as if all doubtfull actions must needs happen, and commonly act not at all, because they would act securely,* 68,69. *They ought to consider that all that ill which might happen happen not always,* ibid. *They do not always sound the bottom of things, and seldom bring them to the last point,* 69. *Their Wisdom is precipitate as soon as out of their souls, and never comes to action,* 69,70.



FINIS.

